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# JOHANNES GUTENBERGS ZWEIUNDVIERZIGZEILIGE BIBEL

ERGÄNZUNGSBAND

ZUR

FAKSIMILE-AUSGABE

Johann Gutenberg's 42 Line Bible  
Supplementary Volume to the Facsimile Edition

Compiled by Paul Schwenke

Translated by Niels H. Sonne

1981

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON PAUL SCHWENKE

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### Translator's Preface

Paul Schwenke's work on the Gutenberg Bible falls into three parts: (1) the two facsimile volumes of all the pages in the first impression, dated 1913-14; (2) the facsimile pages of all variant impressions; and, (3) his essay on the making of the Bible. Parts 2 and 3 were published together posthumously in 1923 by his widow, the essay in slightly unfinished form.

The following is an attempt to put into English the essay, which ideally requires reference to all of the facsimiles. They cannot be reproduced here for obvious reasons. As part of his study of the making of the Bible, Schwenke examined many copies, even in America, and with much correspondence about others, produced his descriptions of the known copies and added details concerning many fragments and single leaves. This work became the Schwenke Census and has formed the basis for all later censuses. Drawing on his studies of these copies and the scientific bibliographical literature of his time, Schwenke produced the following study of most of the major themes on the making of the 42 line Bible. This has been the guide for much study and the target for later analyses.

This private translation in typescript and xerox reproduction is offered to a few friends for what value it may possess.

Niels H. Sonne  
Spring 1981





## FOREWORD

The publication of the supplement volume to the Gutenberg Bible, the last work of Paul Schwenke, has been delayed by the war and the professional activities of my husband longer than he wished. When finally he could dedicate himself fully in his retirement to the investigation, an early death took the pen from his hand. Still his preparation was so far advanced that a nearly finished work can be offered for publication.

Of the planned tables we still lacked only the table of type and the table of watermarks. The former we have added from the Berlin Gutenberg Festschrift of 1900, the second, so far as possible, has been put together from the materials at hand.

In the text there still lacks, according to some remarks of my husband, only a brief survey of the decoration of the Bible in general- in particulars this already exists in the descriptions of each individual copy.- and, at the end, some recapitulative words. Also, he wished finally to consider in the section on the invention of the art of printing Zedler's book Von Coster zu Gutenberg, on which he worked until the end.

The author had personal help from many sides for the investigation, which he, so far as possible, accepted on the spot, and later also written information. At the very end, Herr Oberstudiendirektor Professor Konrad Ernst in Hildesheim conveyed information to him about two Spanish copies. May





all of them find here the gratitude for their valued help which he can no longer express.

Herr Staatsbibliothekar Dr. Ernst Crous has undertaken in a friendly manner the supervision of the printing, and this has helped my daughter Elsbeth and myself in every way in the publication. He has completed the missing references and the abbreviated bibliographical data, he added the indices (Inhaltsverzeichnis der Gutenbergbibel, Verzeichnis der Tafeln der Ergänzungsbandes, Alphabetisches Namen- und Sachverzeichnis) and read with care the difficult proof sheets.

At the wish of my husband for easier comparisons, the Helmaspergersche Notariatsinstrument was reprinted in Appendix 1, to which Herr Dr. Crous, in Appendix 2, has added a brief synoptic table. To him and to the Insel Verlag heartfelt thanks for their generous help.

Charlottenburg, December 1922.

Anna Schwenke  
Geb. Schomburg



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\* On page VIII there appears a descriptive list in German and Latin of the ninety-five facsimile leafs which are reproduced in the supplementary volume, but not herewith.





# Contents of the Gutenberg Bible

## INHALTSVERZEICHNIS DER GUTENBERGBIBEL

### TESTAMENTUM VETUS

1. Band.
- Bl. 1ra: Hieronymus Paulino: *Frater Ambrosius tua mihi . . .* (Berger 1).
- 4rb: Hieronymi in Pentateuchum Moysi praefatio: *Desiderii mei desideratus . . .* (Berger 2).
- 5ra: Liber Genesis.
- 29ra: Liber Exodus.
- 49rb: Liber Leviticus.
- 63va: Liber Numeri.
- 84ra: Liber Deuteronomii.
- 102ra: Hieronymi in Librum Josue praefatio: *Tandem finito Pentateuchus . . .* (Berger 22).
- 102rb: Liber Josue.
- 114vb: Liber Judicum.
- 127rb: Liber Ruth.
- 129ra: Hieronymi in Libros Regum praefatio: *Viginti et duas litteras esse . . .* (Berger 30).
- 129vb: Liber primus Regum (Liber primus Samuelis).
- 147ra: Liber secundus Regum (Liber secundus Samuelis).
- 160vb: Liber tertius Regum (Liber primus Regum).
- 177rb: Liber quartus Regum (Liber secundus Regum).
- 193ra: Hieronymi in Librum Paralipomenon praefatio: *Si septuaginta interpretum . . .* (Berger 36).
- 193rb: Liber primus Paralipomenon.
- 208ra: Liber secundus Paralipomenon.
- 226ra: Oratio Manassae.
- 226rb: Hieronymi in Libros Esdrae et Nehemiae praefatio: *Utrum difficile sit . . .* (Berger 42).
- 226vb: Liber primus Esdrae.
- 231vb: Liber secundus Esdrae (Liber Nehemiae).
- 239ra: Liber tertius Esdrae.
- 247ra: Liber quartus Esdrae.
- 261ra: Hieronymi in Librum Tobiae praefatio: *Chromatic et Heliodoro: Mirari non desino . . .* (Berger 45).
- 261rb: Liber Tobiae.
- 266ra: Hieronymi in Librum Judith praefatio: *Apud Hebraeos liber Judith . . .* (Berger 48).
- 266rb: Liber Judith.
- 272vb: Hieronymi in Librum Esther praefatio: *Librum Esther variis translatoribus . . .* (Berger 51).
- 273ra: Liber Esther.
- 279rb: Hieronymi in Librum Iob praefatio: *Cogor per singulos . . .* (Berger 55).
- 280ra: Alia eiusdem praefatio: *Si autem sciscellam . . .* (Berger 56).
- 280rb: Liber Iob.
- 292vb: Hieronymi in Librum Psalmorum praefatio: *Psalterium Romae dudum . . .* (Berger 68).
- 293ra: Liber Psalmorum.
2. Band.
- Bl. 1ra: Hieronymi in Libros Salomonis praefatio: *Chromatic et Heliodoro: Jungat epistola, quas . . .* (Berger 129).
- 1rb: Liber Proverbiorum.
- 11vb: Prologus in Librum Ecclesiasten: *Memini me huc ferme quinquennio . . .* (Berger 138).
- 11vb: Liber Ecclesiastes.
- 15va: Canticum Canticorum Salomonis.
- 17rb: Liber Sapientiae.
- 24vb: In Ecclesiasticum Jesu filii Sirach prologus.
- 25ra: Liber Ecclesiastici.
- 45vb: Oratio Salomonis.
- 46ra: Hieronymi in translationem Isaiae ex Hebraica veritate praefatio: *Nemo, cum prophetas . . .* (Berger 150).
- 46rb: Prophetia Isaiae.
- 70va: Hieronymi in Jeremiam praefatio: *Jeremias propheta, cui hic prologus scribitur . . .* (Berger 155).

- Bl. 70vb: Prophetia Jeremiae.
- 99ra: Lamentationes Jeremiae.
- 101rb: Oratio Jeremiae.
- 101va: Praefatio in Baruch: *Liber iste, qui Baruch . . .* (nicht bei Berger).
- 101vb: Prophetia Baruch.
- 105ra: Hieronymi in Ezechielem praefatio: *Ezechiel propheta cum Joachin rege . . .* (Berger 162).
- 105rb: Prophetia Ezechielis.
- 131ra: Hieronymi in Daniele praefatio: *Danielem prophetam iuxta septuaginta interpretes . . .* (Berger 166).
- 131va: Prophetia Danielis (ohne den Schlüßvers 14, 42).
- 142ra: Hieronymi in duodecim prophetas praefatio: *Non idem vult . . .* (Berger 170).
- 142rb: Prophetia Osee.
- 143va: Prophetia Joel.
- 147ra: Prophetia Amos.
- 149vb: Prophetia Abdiae.
- 150ra: Prophetia Jonae.
- 151ra: Prophetia Michaeae.
- 153ra: Prophetia Nahum.
- 153vb: Prophetia Habacuc.
- 154vb: Prophetia Sophoniae.
- 156ra: Prophetia Aggaei.
- 156vb: Prophetia Zachariae.
- 160vb: Prophetia Malachiae.
- 162ra: Argumentum in Libros Machabaeorum: *Machabaeorum libri duo praevastant . . .* (Berger 189).
- 162rb: Liber primus Machabaeorum.
- 178ra: Liber secundus Machabaeorum.

### TESTAMENTUM NOVUM

- Bl. 199ra: Hieronymi in Evangelistas praefatio: *Damaso Hieronymus: Novum opus facere me regis . . .* (Berger 195).
- 190vb: Argumentum in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum: *Matthaeus ex Judaea sicut in ordine primus . . .* (Berger 199).
- 191ra: Evangelium secundum Matthaeum.
- 207ra: Argumentum in Evangelium secundum Marcum: *Marcus evangelista Dei . . .* (Berger 225).
- 207rb: Evangelium secundum Marcum.
- 217va: Argumentum in Evangelium secundum Lucam: *Lucas Syrus natione Antiochenus . . .* (Berger 230).
- 217vb: Evangelium secundum Lucam.
- 235ra: Argumentum in Evangelium secundum Joannem: *Hic est Joannes evangelista . . .* (Berger 236).
- 235rb: Evangelium secundum Joannem.
- 248rb: Prologus in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos: *Primum quaeritur, quare . . .* (Berger 253).
- 249ra: Alius prologus: *Romani sunt, qui ex Judaea . . .* (Berger 255).
- 249va: Argumentum in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos: *Romani sunt in partibus Italiae . . .* (Berger 280A).
- 249vb: Epistola Pauli ad Romanos.
- 256ra: Argumentum in Epistolam Pauli ad Corinthios primam: *Corinthii sunt Achaici . . .* (Berger 280B).
- 256rb: Epistola Pauli ad Corinthios prima.
- 262ra: Argumentum in Epistolam Pauli ad Corinthios secundam: *Post actam penitentiam . . .* (Berger 280C).
- 262rb: Epistola Pauli ad Corinthios secunda.
- 266rb: Argumentum in Epistolam Pauli ad Galatas: *Galatae sunt Graeci . . .* (Berger 280D).
- 266rb: Epistola Pauli ad Galatas.
- 268rb: Argumentum in Epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios: *Ephesii sunt Asiani . . .* (nicht bei Berger).
- 268rb: Epistola Pauli ad Ephesios.



## VIII

## INHALTSVERZEICHNIS DER GUTENBERGBIBEL

- Bl. 270<sup>rb</sup>: Argumentum in Epistolam Pauli ad Philippenses: *Philippenses sunt Macedones* . . . (nicht bei Berger).  
 „ 270<sup>va</sup>: Epistola Pauli ad Philippenses.  
 „ 272<sup>ra</sup>: Argumentum in Epistolam Pauli ad Colossenses: *Colossenses et hi sunt et Laodicenses sunt Asiani* . . . (nicht bei Berger).  
 „ 272<sup>ra</sup>: Epistola Pauli ad Colossenses.  
 „ 274<sup>ra</sup>: Argumentum in Epistolam Pauli ad Thessalonicenses primam: *Thessalonicenses sunt Macedones* . . . (nicht bei Berger).  
 „ 274<sup>ra</sup>: Epistola Pauli ad Thessalonicenses prima.  
 „ 275<sup>rb</sup>: Argumentum in Epistolam Pauli ad Thessalonicenses secundam: *Ad Thessalonicenses secundam scribit epistolam apostolus* . . . (nicht bei Berger).  
 „ 275<sup>rb</sup>: Epistola Pauli ad Thessalonicenses secunda.  
 „ 276<sup>ra</sup>: Argumentum in Epistolam Pauli ad Timotheum primam: *Timotheum instruit* . . . (nicht bei Berger).  
 „ 276<sup>ra</sup>: Epistola Pauli ad Timotheum prima.  
 „ 277<sup>vb</sup>: Argumentum in Epistolam Pauli ad Timotheum secundam: *Item Timotheus scribit* . . . (nicht bei Berger).  
 „ 277<sup>vb</sup>: Epistola Pauli ad Timotheum secunda.  
 „ 279<sup>ra</sup>: Argumentum in Epistolam Pauli ad Titum: *Titum commonefacit* . . . (nicht bei Berger).  
 „ 279<sup>ra</sup>: Epistola Pauli ad Titum.  
 „ 279<sup>vb</sup>: Argumentum in Epistolam Pauli ad Philemonem: *Philemoni familiares litteras facit* . . . (nicht bei Berger).  
 „ 279<sup>vb</sup>: Epistola Pauli ad Philemonem.  
 „ 280<sup>ra</sup>: Argumentum in Epistolam Pauli ad Hebraeos: *In primis dicendum est, quare* . . . (Berger 283).  
 Bl. 280<sup>rb</sup>: Epistola Pauli ad Hebraeos.  
 „ 285<sup>ra</sup>: Hieronymi in Actus Apostolorum praefatio: *Canit psalmista* . . . (Berger 250). *Lucas Anthiocoensis* . . . (Berger 245).  
 „ 285<sup>rb</sup>: Actus Apostolorum.  
 „ 302<sup>vb</sup>: Prologus in Epistolas Catholicas: *Non ita ordo est apud Graecos* . . . (Berger 290).  
 „ 302<sup>ra</sup>: Argumentum in Epistolam Catholicam Jacobi: *Jacobus apostolus sanctum instruit clerum* . . . (Berger 294).  
 „ 302<sup>ra</sup>: Epistola Catholica Jacobi.  
 „ 303<sup>vb</sup>: Argumentum in Epistolam Petri primam: *Discipulus Salvatoris invitatus* . . . (Berger 299).  
 „ 303<sup>vb</sup>: Epistola Petri prima.  
 „ 305<sup>va</sup>: Argumentum in Epistolam Petri secundam: *Simon Petrus per fidem* . . . (Berger 303).  
 „ 305<sup>va</sup>: Epistola Petri secunda.  
 „ 306<sup>va</sup>: Argumentum in Epistolam Joannis primam: *Rationem Verbi et quod Deus ipse sit* . . . (Berger 294).  
 „ 306<sup>vb</sup>: Epistola Joannis prima.  
 „ 308<sup>rb</sup>: Argumentum in Epistolam Joannis secundam: *Uique Deus* . . . (nicht bei Berger).  
 „ 308<sup>rb</sup>: Epistola Joannis secunda.  
 „ 308<sup>va</sup>: Argumentum in Epistolam Joannis tertiam: *Gaius pietatis causa* . . . (nicht bei Berger).  
 „ 308<sup>va</sup>: Epistola Joannis tertia.  
 „ 308<sup>vb</sup>: Argumentum in Epistolam Catholicam Judae: *Judas apostolus fratres* . . . (nicht bei Berger).  
 „ 308<sup>vb</sup>: Epistola Catholica Judae.  
 „ 310<sup>ra</sup>: Prologus in Apocalypsim Joannis: *Joannes apostolus et evangelista* . . . (Berger 310).  
 „ 310<sup>ra</sup>: Apocalypsis Joannis.

List of the plates in the supplementary volume  
 VERZEICHNIS DER TAFELN DES ERGÄNZUNGSBANDES

- Bl. 1-32: Erster Ergänzungsdruck I 1-32.  
 „ 33: Ersatzdruck I 34.  
 „ 34-63: Erster Ergänzungsdruck I 129-158.  
 „ 64-79: Erster Ergänzungsdruck II 1-16.  
 „ 80: Ersatzdruck II 22r.  
 „ 80v: Erster Ergänzungsdruck II 162r.  
 „ 81r: Satzvariante I 52r.  
 „ 81v: Ersatzdruck I 261r.  
 „ 82: Zweiter Ergänzungsdruck I 1.  
 „ 83r: Zweiter Ergänzungsdruck I 2r.  
 „ 84-89: Zweiter Ergänzungsdruck I 3-8.  
 „ 90: Zweiter Ergänzungsdruck I 10.  
 „ 91r: Zweiter Ergänzungsdruck I 130r.  
 „ 92-95: Tabula Rubricarum.

Not included in this translation.





DIE  
GUTENBERGBIBEL  
VON  
PAUL SCHWENKE



"In the year of our Lord, which we call 1450, which was a golden year, then began men to print and the first book men printed was the Bible in Latin, and it was printed with 'missal' type, such as the type with which we now print mass books." So states the Cologne Chronicle of 1499 following oral information from the first Cologne bookprinter, Ulrich Zell of Hanau. Before this man came to Cologne in 1464, he must have learned the art in Mainz, but he surely did not even get his first education there, for we find him in 1453 as a matriculate of the University of Erfurt. So it is not remarkable if his account concerning the year "when men began to print" is not accurate in a literal sense. From the now known small Mainz printing remains, which permit recognition of a development of the art year by year and whose chronology receives some light from the astronomical calendar calculated for 1448, we know that there had already been printing with cast type earlier and that the year 1440, which the same Cologne Chronicle immediately before named as the birth year of the art, following Hartmann Schedel, is more correct. This, however, does not hinder us from recognizing as believable Zell's clear statement about the Latin Bible in missal type, which should stand as the starting point of genuine typography. Could Zell perhaps have been employed in Fust and Schoeffer's workshop when they used the first Bible printing as copy for the edition of 1462?





Of impressions of the Bible in missal type we know really only the two which we are accustomed to designate by the dominating line count as the 36 line and the 42 line Bibles, both without indication of the date and of the printers. The type of the first named is an advanced development of the type in which the familiar small imprints of the 'fo<sup>R</sup>ties, the Sibyllenbuch (Fragment of the world judgment), several Donatuses and the astronomical calendar were set. Thus the 36 line Bible apparently had right of priority, and it did seem to be winning the battle of words concerning temporal sequence until Karl Dziatzko<sup>1/</sup> indicated that on some leaves it is really a reprint of the 42 line edition. Now we can say with great probability that it really was printed not in Mainz but in Hamburg.<sup>2/</sup> It is associated with the inventor of printing only insofar as its type originated with him.

The earliest dating attested for the 36 line Bible is 1461. By contrast, we have an incontestable date five years earlier for the 42 line Bible in the inscription of the vicar of St. Stephan in Mainz, Heinrich Cremer, in the paper copy of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (under 24). According to this, both volumes were completed in rubrication and binding August 1456, and, indeed, the second volume on the 15th, the first on the 24th of August. Cremer had apparently worked on the two volumes side by side, and one may conclude from the lead of nine days, which the approximately seven leaves shorter second volume had, that a key may be drawn for the



duration of the entire job. However, the time which one would reckon in this way appears to be too much. Still, the complete rubrication of 641 leaves, the writing and painting of 170 initials, and so forth, would have required, even with the utmost industry, some months. Even if we assume that Cremer had begun his work immediately after the completion of the printing of the Bible (the two volumes were, as we shall see, printed at the same time) this can not be placed beyond the spring of 1456.

The number 1453 would lead us further back. This is to be read at the foot of the last page of the Klemm copy (No. 9). But the unusual position (not immediately under the text) and the execution, not in the red of the rubricators, but in a brownish tint, which in the best case, could be ascribed to the copy-preparer, in connection with the many modern 'beautifications' which the copy has suffered make [this date] appear highly questionable, although the form of the numerals is unexceptionable.<sup>1/</sup>

Between both years, but nearer to the time gained from the Cremer inscription, falls the date of the most important source for the history of the invention of the art of printing books, the Helmasperger Notarial Instrument of 6 March 1455. It is not the place here to discuss anew thoroughly this much discussed document, which is the record of the affidavit required by the court from Johann Fust in his case against Johann Gutenberg.<sup>2/</sup> It will suffice to set forth briefly the actual events which may be gained from it.





Fust had loaned to Gutenberg 800 gulden with which he was required to complete his shop, or, as Gutenberg himself said, to finish his tools. This equipment, which however is Gutenberg's own property, Fust would hold as a guarantee for the repayment of the 800 gulden. From Fust's demand for 250 gulden at six per cent interest it is clear that the loan was made over five years before the initiation of the claim, thus it is certainly to be placed in the first months of the year 1450. In addition to this, Fust had given an additional 800 gulden to Gutenberg for which he asked 140 gulden interest. According to the statement of the defendant, this expense was for 'the common work', to which Fust had pledged himself to lay out annually 300 gulden for 'Kosten' (running expenditures) and also for servants' wages, house rent, vellum, paper, ink and so forth. Gutenberg offered to give an account himself of this second 800 gulden. The court recognized his objection as justified when it required of him repayment only so far as the money was not required to be applied to the common undertaking.

What the nature of this undertaking was would not be doubtful according to this evidence even if it had not been designated by Gutenberg himself in another place expressly as 'Werk der Bücher'. It was a printing venture and surely planned to be a large one. Its duration is measured in years. It required special space and a large staff. Thus it can not have been devoted to the production of small printed pieces, which, like the Donatuses and the Kalendar, disappear without trace; its evidence must be available for us today. As an



actual large printed work, we have only one from this early period, even the 42 line Bible alone, the Bible of the Cologne Chronicle. Only it can have been the subject of the bargain between Gutenberg and Fust. If we take the statements and intimations of the Helmasperger Notarial Instrument on them, we would have to take this as sound source information. As for the cost and duration of the printing, we will have to return to that later. For the present it suffices, on the basis of source information, that Fust is completely the lender; Gutenberg, however, is not only the maker of the printing equipment, but also the technical and business leader of the work, through whose hands the current expenses passed. We dare also assume that he is also the originator of the Bible printing insofar as to have approached Fust with this definite proposition, after he became convinced that his new art had matured for such a hazardous project.

The relative numbers of preserved Bible manuscripts proves that the unbelievable fruitfulness of the 13th. and 14th. centuries in the writing of manuscripts had somewhat relaxed in the 15th. century. In spite of this, there was sufficient need for new copies. The previously common small and decorated format on the finest vellum, with almost microscopic handwriting, had fallen out of style even in the course of the 14th. century. More and more, the customary writing, full of abbreviations, which had developed following the increase of writing, had been utilized for the Bible, and, since the appearance of paper, there was a turn from the costly vellum.



However, such copies were satisfactory only for private use. For the churches and monasteries, people expected more festive beauty in the art of the liturgical book, preferably on vellum, and this required a monumental format, and entirely aside from the significant cost, a most careful scribe's industry. The Mainz, now Gotha, great manuscript, of which Hupp has provided a page in facsimile, <sup>1/</sup> was completed from 4 April 1452 to 9 July 1453, thus in one and a quarter years. From almost the same time, we have the notations of the scribe of the Wolfenbüttler Bible manuscript, Helmstedt 282, Andreas Sotefleisch, concerning the completion of single books, also done in the ordinary handwriting. He had indeed taken for the book of Joshua (51 columns of the Gutenberg Bible) only four or five days (21 to 25 January 1456), which would indicate for the entire Bible 200 to 250 days, but the average progress of his work was far less: for Exodus to Ruth, almost exactly 100 leaves of the Gutenberg Bible, he wrote from 22 November, 1455 to 19 February, 1456, thus 90 days, which would add up to over one and a half years for the entire Bible. It is very understandable that, of the surviving manuscripts, many also, like the just named, are incomplete, that the work apparently came to a stand-still, <sup>2/</sup> or that they did not go on with the books for which there was no need. <sup>3/</sup> If, however, one allowed the copy to be completed on wages, <sup>4/</sup> one would have to pay a corresponding price. The Giessen manuscript 653, containing the entire Bible and some additions, in the common script on 468 leaves of large format, completed in Mainz in





in November 1454, cost for the writing alone, 12 gulden and 16 shillings. Fortunately, we have a third Mainz Bible manuscript from the same period, and likewise in the common handwriting, Manuscript 90 of the Mainz Stadtbibliothek, bound by the same binder as the above named Giessen copy and as the Laubacher copy of the Gutenberg Bible (under 6). Unfortunately, it contains no evidence of its manufacture; however, it also proves the existence of a need for copies of the Bible. The thought must have been present and it must have seemed profitable, to deal with Bible production through mechanization of the work with the help of the new art; at the same time, one could be certain to produce better results than the ordinary wage-scribe, and probably do it cheaper.

It is self-evident that Gutenberg must follow in the external features of his work the model of the calligraphic and well ornamented Bible manuscripts of his time, as he found them in the churches and monasteries of Mainz: <sup>1/</sup> vellum or paper of the largest format with double columned texts and wide margins, the whole divided into two or four volumes; within the volumes, the books running along without large divisions, separated only by the rubrication, the red explicits and incipits, for which space was provided. Similar blanks also for the other colored distinct components: the large initials stretching several lines for the books; <sup>2/</sup> the smaller, only two line high beginnings for the chapters, which had been established since the thirteenth century, for the chapter numbers; for the page headings and verse beginnings in the Psalter and the names of Hebrew letters in the Lamentations; all still so arranged that



after required completion with feather pen and brush there resulted a complete enclosed type picture.

Just as in these externals, Gutenberg was dependent on his text in seeking the content and ordering of the work. In spite of the many deviations of the individual manuscripts <sup>1/</sup> there existed since the thirteenth century a widespread normalization of the Vulgate. The Gutenberg Bible followed this also (compare the Table of Contents, pp. VII/VIII), except that it included also Ezra III and IV, <sup>2/</sup> which otherwise is not generally the case. In contrast, there is also the to us strange placement of the Acts of the Apostles between the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, which was usual.

In addition to the text of the biblical books, the Vulgate included from antiquity the prefaces of Jerome and other matter falsely ascribed to him, partly anonymous prefaces and 'arguments'. Also, in such things manuscripts since the thirteenth century in general agree, but deviations are still very numerous. Their importance for the classification of manuscripts has been definitely demonstrated by Berger.<sup>3/</sup> The existence in the Gutenberg Bible of the usual prefaces is noted in the table of contents on pages VII/VIII, its deviations consist chiefly in omissions. There is missing: at the Psalter, the second Praefatio (Berger 69), all the prefaces to the individual minor prophets (179, 184 and so forth), before the Maccabees the second letter of Rabanus (192), the second preface to Matthew (200). Of the 'Arguments' to the New Testament letters, which are not cited completely by Berger, the Bible has numbers 280,





ABC, 294 (James and John), 299, 303. The two latter seem to appear less frequently. A peculiarity, which I do not find mentioned elsewhere, is apparent contraction of two prologues (Berger 250 and 245) at the Acts of the Apostles.

What impression the Bible, which surpassed all manuscripts in the uniformity and neatness of printing, and was also enhanced by format and by the excellence materials, of paper, vellum and ink, made on contemporaries, has not been transmitted to us. We can only draw conclusions from the costliness of the finishing which individual owners gave to their copies. However, not only these but also the more simply decorated copies must have made a total impression which has been achieved by no subsequent edition, to assure attention and to be a protection for them whenever they fell into book loving hands. This explains the existence of a relatively large number of copies. On the other hand, the format might be found uncomfortable, the missal type, with its abbreviations old fashioned, by later owners, oriented on practical use. In fact, numerous scattered fragments give evidence of many copies which may have fallen sacrifice to the bookbinder, the document file and also, perhaps, to the gold beater. Still more copies, without leaving a trace behind them, may have shared the fate of libraries which in the course of time were destroyed by fire or war, or have gone to the ground through neglect. The present Göttinger copy (under No. 5) and one or other inscription (for example in No. 15) speak for the reputation of our Bible in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Rather the contrary is signified when some



copies were apparently used for a long time for monastic readings and were furnished with appropriate markings, or if No. 39 served as an album for the signatures of choir brothers in Offenberg. On the whole, however, copies have led a hidden existence in churches and monasteries, many into the nineteenth century.

The earliest recognition [of the Gutenberg Bible] as the monument of the first printing of books is found in the Berlin copy in which, towards the end of the seventeenth century, the librarian Hendreich (d. 1702) entered a reference to the place mentioned above in the Cologne Chronicle.<sup>1/</sup> It was also publicly described as the oldest printing of the Bible in 1747 in the first volume of the Berlinischen Bibliothek (see under No. 2). However, the entry by G. F. DeBure, who by chance came upon the copy in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, in his *Bibliographie Instructive, Théologie*, Paris 1763, pages 32 ff., first found general recognition. From there on the Bible went - often under the name Mazarinbibel - through the bibliographies, the works on the history of book printing and bibliophilic literature, certainly also through the hands of library thieves and book dealers. Until then predominantly in German possession, they were removed and sold in not a few cases, especially to France and England, to <sup>find</sup> there permanent places in public libraries, or to pass as valued collector's items from hand to hand among the great bibliophiles, until in the last decades America has also taken up the fruitful competition. The Bible first achieved scientific treatment in its homeland through Karl Dziatzko.

1. See above p. 1.



Since men have become attentive to the printing of the Bible, they have sought repeatedly to list the existing copies, with increasing results, first by Joseph von Praet<sup>1/</sup> and K. A. Schaab,<sup>2/</sup> in more recent times by Antonius v. d. Linde,<sup>3/</sup> W. A. Copinger,<sup>4/</sup> Paul Schwenke,<sup>5/</sup> and finally in a manner surpassing his predecessors, by Seymour de Ricci,<sup>6/</sup> who more precisely pursued the history of the copies with his special ability and exact knowledge of book auctions and sales catalogues. I have used his descriptions gratefully in the following list, therewith also quietly improving many of them. Appearing newly are the two copies in Spain (Nos. 21, 22), which Herr Direktor Ernst has found on the trip undertaken on the instructions of the Inkunabelkommission. On the basis of personal inspection of a large part of the copies, it has been possible for me to throw light frequently on their origin and older history, even to a degree to their individual decorations and other appearances. Understandably, these statements must be kept as brief as possible and can not take the place of the monographic treatment, which many exemplars merit. They will, however, give a sufficient presentation of the individuality of the copies, especially if one compares the reproductions present in the facsimile volumes, and in the supplementary volume, from the exemplars in Berlin, Fulda, Göttingen, Leipzig, Vienna, Ediburgh, and from the copy in the possession of Pierpont Morgan.





In the descriptions, it is assumed that complete copies consist of two volumes of 324 leaves and 317 leaves. As often as the blank leaves 318 and 319 in volume 2, which are mostly removed, or the supplement of the Tabularum Rubricarum are present, it is especially noted, likewise any variant arrangement of a volume. Printing variants are dealt with together below (pp. 66-69a), still we indicate when pieces of the second and third impressions are present in the individual exemplars. necessarily with reference to the tabular summary (p. 67a). Therefore, we give the line count on I, 1-5 and 129-132, and the presence or absence of printed rubrics, which are only present in the first impressions of these leaves. Otherwise, they are written in missal script everywhere, if with varying care in execution and not always in agreement with the Tabularum Rubricarum, which were supposed to serve as copy. When not otherwise indicated, the capitals in the text are slashed with simple red strokes. The initial letters of the chapters always have the Lombardic form, therefore we give only the colors. A special description of the Psalter format (compare above, p. 7 and the facsimile) would lead too far afield. It is adjusted in a regular manner to the other ornamentation of the exemplars. Numbering of the Psalms is most often lacking. The references to the literature are limited to those places which contribute something to the history and description of the exemplars, mere mention in catalogue-like entries are omitted. Of this type are most descriptions in sales catalogues, which seldom exceed general praise.



## INVENTORY OF KNOWN COPIES

(1) Aschaffenburg, Hofbibliothek. Paper. 407:292 mm.

I, 239-252 (Esdras III and IV) torn out. Condition in general good, but many corrections with ink. Page headings in ornamented Lombards, first all red, then alternately red and blue, or partly red and partly blue. Capitals only here and there with red strokes. Chapter numbers roman, first all red, later alternately red and blue, usually without addition of 'c'. Chapter beginnings alternately red and blue (gray) with decorations in the manner of the Psalter printing, mostly in the contrasting color, partly also in violet ink. The larger initials at first richer, the body of the letters in colored leaf-work on gold, silver or colored background, stretching out in leafage or tendrils, later simply red and gray shared, or of one color with other colored filigree ornamentations. - Binding the original wood binding, formerly in brown leather, with strong metal fittings, now with a covering of undecorated sheepskin. On the front cover of volume one, a document with the writing side pasted down and an old copper engraving (Christ in Gethsemane, plate size 75:98 mm.), on the back cover of volume 2, part of a lexicographic manuscript; laid in two manuscript leaves 'Interpretaciones byblie secundum ordinem alphabeti' (only to Am.) - Provenance indication on the first leaf of each volume (erased); Cartusiae Moguntinae. Next in the possession of the Elector of Mainz, Friedrich Karl Joseph von Erthal and taken





with his library to Aschaffenburg in 1792. - K. A. Schaab, *Geschichte der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst*, Volume 1, Mainz 1830, pp. 273 ff.; Joseph Merkel, *Krit. Verzeichnis höchst seltener Inkunabeln ... in der Höfbibl. in Aschaffenburg* 1832, pp. 7 ff. - DeRicci 17.

(2) Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Ink. 1515. Vellum. 420:292 mm. Parts of the second impressiom, see Tables. Two leaves, I, 129 and II, 249 wanting, but the blank leaf II, 318 present. The first leaf of each volume a little rubbed, else the condition is excellent, without spots, corrections and marginal notes. Page headings in Lombardic letters, alternating red and blue. Chapter numbers in roman, the single elements in the same color rotation. Likewise, the chapter beginnings, these everywhere with pen ornaments in complemental colors which often stretch far into the margins. The large initials extremely rich in color and gold, many with figure representations relative to the contents of the books: from this, outstandingly beautiful margin work, with blossoms, fruit and animal decoration (compare the facsimile edition). - The insignificant leather binding from the sixteenth century (2 volumes) with spine gilding (compartment stamping) now removed for purposes of replacement: new binding in four volumes. No marks of previous provenance. Perhaps the ancient property of the Electoral House of Brandenburg, in any case, with an entry in the oldest catalogue of the library from 1668 to identify it. Described by M. L. Widekind in the *Berlinischen Bibliothek* I,



Berlin 1747, St. 2, pp. 269 ff. Facsimile of 15<sup>r</sup> in colored lithography as a broadsheet of the Jubiläum der Buchdrucker-kunst 1840, and without ornamentation in Konrad Burger's Monumenta Germaniae et Italiae typographica, Berlin 1913, table 137; some places in the Berlin Gutenbergfestschrift of 1900.

Complete reproduction in the facsimile edition with all ornamentation, so far as this copy belongs to the first printing, the remaining pages in the supplementary volume. De Ricci 21.

(3) Frankfurt am Main, Stadtbibliothek. Paper. 385/88: 280/85 mm. Complete (the ancient foliation is erroneous) and in good condition, still there are as a result of dampness several blue letters offset on facing pages. Here and there improvements in the text and quite a few notations in the margins. The second volume, toward the end, somewhat worm-eaten. Page headings in Lombardic letters, alternating blue and red. Chapter numbers in romans, at the beginning all red, later alternating red and blue (always the entire number of one color). Chapter beginnings without ornamentation, in the same color rotation. The long initials all executed without art, either in red and blue or single colored red or blue, partly with sparse white ornaments. - Bound in two commonplace half vellum bindings (likely eighteenth century) with red edges. A folded corner shows that in the re-binding, at the bottom 10 mm. and on the sides 13 mm. had been cut away. - Provenance, from the Saint Leonhard Monastery; mark of ownership from the seventeenth century: Ecclesiae



Collegiatae S. Leonardi Francofurti. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century in the Stadtbibliothek. Described by Hufnagel in I. F. Löffler's Magazin für Prediger, volume 1, St. 2, Jena 1804, pp. 23 ff. De Ricci 16.

(4) Fulda, Landesbibliothek, Inc. A 23. Vellum. Only volume one. 417:311 mm. Complete and perfectly preserved. Page headings in red missal letters, likewise the chapter numbers, with the addition of 'Capit' and other abbreviations. Chapter beginnings in Lombardic letters, with wide spreading final strokes, alternating red and blue. The large initials rich in color and gold, with leaf decoration and vine work, partly with animal, and, here and there also, human decorations. The "F" of 'In the beginning' with St. Jerome and the Lion and the entire page surrounded with vine work. Compare leaves I 21-32, 34, 129-158 of the facsimile, which are selected from this copy.- Binding the original wood covering, ornamented with stamped, polished dark brown leather, with artistic metal bosses by the unnamed Erfurt Bookbinder of the 42 line Bible' with the lute player and the knots (Schwenke in Wiegendruck und Handschriften, Festschrift f. Konrad Haebler, Leipzig 1919, p. 136). Described by Ludwig Bickell, Bucheinbände aus hessischen Bibliotheken, Leipzig, 1892, Table 6, and employed as a model for the publisher's binding of the facsimile volumes. Leaves 72/79 and 73/78 are misbound. On the front cover, an ancient listing of of the biblical books from Genesis to the Psalter. The four





leaves bound at the front and the three at the end are inscribed with a probably very early index of Old Testament names; colophon: 'Finis huius 1470'. - No old provenance marks. On the blank side of leaf 246<sup>V</sup> the apparently late inscription HABV.

M. VALENTIN. In the front two leaves pasted in, the first with dedication of the Senate of Fulda to the Prince-Abbot Konstantin (von Buttlar) from January 1723 and his arms, the second with arms of the City of Fulda. On the front cover the Ex Libris of the Publica Fuldensium Bibliotheca, 1776. de Ricci 20.

(5) Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek. Bibl. I 5955. Vellum. 402/8:302 mm. I, 1-20, 129-138. II, 1-10 in second impression. Complete, but a number of marginal ornaments cut out; the text with many erasures and corrections of the fifteenth century; for the rest excellently preserved. Page headings in red missal script, chapter numbers the same. Chapter beginnings alternately red and blue. The large initials rich in gold and color (including striking orange) in various execution, with attached or separate leaf work in the margins, in the second volume often with filigree work in the manner of the Schoeffer initials. Compare the facsimile leaves from this copy, II, 11-16 and 249, and, in the supplementary volume, II, 1-10 (Supplement leaves 64-73). - Binding from the sixteenth century, wooden boards with white calf leather, whose stampings are covered for the most part with wrappings of deer leather, red edges. Clasps no longer present. - This copy belonged originally to a monastery



(II, 134, on the margin: Hic continuatur in refectorio), in any case in the Kahlenberg-Göttingischen part of the Guelph land; in the sixteenth century in the possession of the ducal house, it was taken out of the country after the death of Duke Erichs (1584) by his natural son Wilhelm, but left behind in Fritzlar; after Wilhelm's death (1584) it was reclaimed by Duke Julius of Braunschweig, and delivered to him in 1587 in Wolfenbüttel. On this point there are pertinent entries in both volumes (compare Supplement volume, leaf 64, i.e. the Supplement reprint of II, 1). The Bible came to Helstadt in 1614, with the Wulfenbüttel Library, thence it came to Göttingen at the time of the Kingdom of Westphalia. - Compare Gust. Milchaek in Zbl. f. Bibliotheksw. 19, Leipzig 1902, pp. 426-28; Dziatzko ebenda pp. 502 ff.; G. H. Müller, Die ersten Besitzer der Göttinger 42 zeiligen Guttenberg (!)-Bibel. Ztsch. d. hist. Ver. f. Niedersachsen, Hannover, Jg. 1910, pp. 135-143. Facsimiles, see above.

(6) Laubach, Gräfl. Solms-Laubachische Bibliothek. Paper. Only volume 2. Leaves I, 5 and 16 in the second impression. 412:295/7 mm. Many untrimmed paper margins. The lower margins cut away from the first two leaves, with some loss of text on leaf two; some worm holes at the beginning and end, and a penetrating stain on the margins, otherwise very good state. Strokes in the capitals, in part with double strokes. Page headings in red missal script, chapter numbers in the same,



often with preceding 'C'; chapter beginnings alternating red and blue, in part somewhat disfigured. The large initials somewhat crude, but relatively rich in different colors (green, reddish, brown, blue) and gold on four-cornered background, from which colored leaf tendrils extending below and above. - Binding the original wood binding, with brown stamp decorated leather, Mainz work; the inner lining recently added. - Aside from the evidence of the binding, no key to provenance; probably the piece cut out of leaf One held a mark of ownership. de Ricci 19.

(7) Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek. Ed. vet. perg. 1.

Vellum. 417/23:305 mm. 4 volumes. (Pentateuch-Ruth; Reges-Psalterium; Proverbia-Prophetæ; Maccabæi-Apocalypsis).

I, 1-20 in the second printing. Leaf I, 101 wanting. Condition, overlooking some worm-holes, excellent. Page headings only red, by different hands: in the beginning in missal script and only on the recto side, later in Lombardic form on both sides, with decorations through dots and small branches; the same rotation in all four volumes. Punctuation at the end of sentences strengthened through red hooks. Chapter numbering roman with points between the numerals, only red and without additions. Chapter beginnings in each volume first alternating red and blue, then red and somewhat disfigured. The large initials very simple, most of one color, red or blue, and only occasionally with ornamentation. - Binding the original





wood covers with white leather, with stamps of John Fogel in Erfurt, but without his name, thus probably by his successor (compare Schwenke in *Wiegendrucke und Handschriften, Festgabe f. Konrad Haebler*, Leipzig 1919, pp. 133 ff.). In volumes three and four indices of contents (in volume 3 dated 1461) and marks of ownership: *Hec tertia pars biblie in Salcza*, in *IIII<sup>a</sup> f. Minorum in Salcza* ..., that is, the Franciscan Monastery in Langensalza. - Collation of the pages in the second impression by Bruno Stübel in *Serapeum* 31, Leipzig 1870, pp. 233 ff. and 241-248. Facsimiles of I, 1-20 in the present Supplement volume, leaves 1-20.

de Ricci 23.

(8) Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek. Ed. vet. See also No. 29. Paper. 402/9:288/90 mm: many untrimmed paper margins. Excellent condition, overlooking some large worm-holes at the beginning and ends of both volumes. Page headings red in a somewhat rounded Gothic, likewise the chapter numbers. Chapter beginnings alternating red and blue. The large initials very rich in colored leaf work (blue, green, brown) and gold, often with four-cornered, bright colored frames; with leaves and tendrils attached to them, which nevertheless are not spread broadly into the margins. - Binding, modern, Red morocco, with rich gilding of the covers and the inner edges, very likely from the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the back covers of both volumes, ancient lists of contents on vellum



from the old bindings: on that of the first volume, an erased old mark of ownership: *Iste liber pertinet monasterio alteberg (?)*. - Collation of the pages in the second impression by Stübel, and in other places. (see Number 7) de Ricci 24.

(9) Leipzig, Deutsches Museum für Buch und Schrift, Sächsische Bibliographische (Klemmsche) Sammlung. Vellum. 401/08:300 mm. II, 162 in the second impression. I, 5 entirely in facsimile, an extremely large number of leaves mutilated through cutting out of ornamental borders, many also with loss of text, all completed in recent times, and with further additions by a forger. - The copy is ruled, the capitals in part with strokes in yellow. Page headings in Lombardic letters, alternating red and blue. Chapter numbers in red missal script. At the chapter beginnings, the bodies of the letters are always in gold on blue or reddish backgrounds, with filling of the matching alternate color. The large initials in the same manner or reversed, the letters colored on a golden background, the outline curved outward and pointed. In this (French-Burgundian) decoration it agrees with copy Number 42. Uniquely in this exemplar, biblical scenes are represented in miniatures on the lower margins of many pages. The sales catalogue of Bachelin-Deflorenne (1878) gives their number as 135. Of the present larger number, there are still present, according to Schinnerer (see below) 136 genuine miniatures, some to be sure with retouching:



moreover, the rich border on leaf II, 1 is mostly genuine. In contrast, there are ten borders and eighty-one miniatures on added pieces of vellum and, in style and execution, agreeing with them, further seventy borders and sixty-two miniatures on the old vellum of new origin and certainly by two different forgers. The first, who executed the facsimile of I, 5 and the remaining 'raccomodages', was, according to the cited sales catalogue, Pilinsky of Paris; the second, according to Schinnerer's conjecture, a Dresden dabbler. To the first belongs also the border of I, 1. Under these circumstances, the date 1453 in the empty space on I, 324<sup>v</sup> is in the highest degree suspicious. (see above, page 3). - This copy was still in its original binding with stamped leather and the remains of a chain in 1878; rebound by Klemm; wooden binding, with leather back and silver clasps. The old covers may have been turned over to the German Museum in Nuremberg. - Discovered in the library of the Spanish bibliophile Miro in Madrid by the Parisian bookdealer Bachelin-Deflorenne, exhibited in 1878 in Paris, and sold in an auction for 50,000 francs and offered in a sales catalogue at 70,000 francs, but sold to A. Cohn in Berlin for 25,000 francs (?), from him to H. Klemm, whose collection was acquired by the government of Saxony. A. de Ruble, Notice des principaux livres ... qui ont fait parti de l'exposition de l'art ancien au Trocadéro, Paris 1879, pp. 47-48; Catalogue de livres rares et curieux provenant de la Bibliothèque de M. Miro de Madrid en vente aux prix marqués,





Paris, Bachelin-Deflorenne, 5 Aout 1878, p. 34, Nr. 206; Beschreibender Catalog des Bibliographischen Museums von Heinrich Klemm, Dresden 1884, pp. 11 ff.; Joh. Schinnerer, Fälschungen in alten Handschriften und Druckwerken (Ztsch. f. Bücherfr. N. F. 5, 1, Leipzig 1913, pp. 97-111). Concerning the date 1453, see Dziatzko, Satz und Druck der 42 zeiligen Bibel (Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten, Heft 15), Leipzig 1902, pp. 104 ff. - Facsimile of II, 104<sup>V</sup> in Druckschriften des 15. - 18. Jahrh., hrsg. von d. Reichsdruckerei, Berlin 1884-1887, Table 21; of II, 217<sup>V</sup> (ornamentation in part not genuine) in Meyers Konversationslexikon unter Buchdruckerkunst. - de Ricci 25. (10) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, P. 584. Paper. 385:267 mm. 44 leaves in the second impression. See Table. Condition good, overlooking some evidences of use and severe clipping. Capitals I, 1-21<sup>R</sup> with red strokes, from there on with slightly visible yellow strokes. Page headings in red missal script, likewise thr chapter numbers, most with 'Cap.' and other forms. Chapter beginnings in somewhat damaged Lombardic letters, mostly blue and red, rarely green, with other colored, often wide stretching ornamentations in pen and ink drawing. The large initials very rich; colored bodies of the letters on backgrounds of other colors, mostly surrounded by bright colored frames. Chiefly used are green, reddish-violet, steel-blue, blue, orange, a little gold. One figure representation only II, 1<sup>V</sup> (King Solomon). On the initials, enclosing leaf vines, with flowers, etc. which are stretched out wide into the margins. Modern



Binding of the eighteenth century (?) in brown leather with edges sprinkled with red. - Mark of ownership Monasterij Mellicensis from the seventeenth century. de Ricci 30.

(11) München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cim. 63a. Paper. 380/88:280 mm. Complete, with the blank leaf II, 318 and the Tabula Rubricarum. Condition very good, although evidences of use at the beginnings of volume one and in the Psalter. Capitals without strokes. Page headings in missal script, somewhat rounded like the printed type, entirely in red. Likewise the chapter numbers with 'Ca.'; the rubricator has often altered the division of the chapters. Chapter beginnings alternately red and blue, with ornaments in other colors. The large initials mostly of one color, red or blue, or of both combined, rarely is gold used. Richer in color and gold is 'J' alone at I, 5; three sides of the leaf are surrounded with vines and flowers (somewhat trimmed). At the end of the volume dating by the rubricator: Finis Psalterium 61<sup>o</sup>. - Modern full leather binding (eighteenth century) with edges sprinkled with red. - From the Benedictine monastery of Andechs; with its mark of ownership; with the secularization of 1803 it came to München. Described by Johan Baptist Bernhart in Johann Christoph of Aretins Beiträgen zur Gechichte u. Literatur, Volume 3. München 1804, St. 12, pp.70 ff. - Facsimile of I, 1<sup>r</sup>, 293<sup>r</sup>, 301<sup>r</sup>, and II, 317<sup>v</sup> in Hub. Walters Ankündigung einer Faksimile-Ausgabe der Bibel; of Tab. Rubr. Bl 4<sup>v</sup> in Leop. Delisle, A la Mémoire de Jean Gutenberg, Paris 1909, Table 3. de Ricci 26.



(12) St. Paul in Lavanttal (Kärnten, Bibliothek des Benediktinerstiftes. Vellum. 407:300 mm. 3 volumes (Pentateuch to Esdras; Tobias to Ezechiel; Daniel to Apokalypse) Pages on the second impression, see table. Complete with the blank leaf II, 319 (318 is missing), excellently preserved. Capitals only I, 1-130 have red strokes. Page headings in Lombardic script, the individual letters alternating red and blue. Chapter headings in red missal script, mostly without additions. Beginnings of chapters alternately red and blue. The large initials simple, but carefully executed; the body of the letters red or blue, often with sparse white patterns, or composed of red and blue with ornamentation in the manner of the Psalter initials. - Bound, as clues on I, 324<sup>v</sup> and II, 1<sup>r</sup> show, originally in two volumes, now in three volumes of the sixteenth century, white calf leather with blind tooling, one of the rolls used dated 1560 - belonged to the Benedictine monastery of St. Blasius in the Black Forest (in each volume a copper engraved Ex Libris), from there saved by flight before the French in 1796 or 1801 and next brought by the Blasians in 1809 to St. Paul. Mentioned and described by Mart. Gerbert, *Iter Alemannicum*, ed. 2, San Blas., 1773, pp. 164 ff. see table 7 (18 lines from volume I, 5<sup>r</sup>); G. W. Zapf, *Reisen in einige Klöster Schwabens*, Erlangen, 1786, pp. 68-73. de Ricci 31.





(13) Trier, Stadtbibliothek. (First copy). Paper. Only Volume 1. Leaves 1-10 in the second impression. 391:283 mm. The volume has suffered from dampness in the upper parts of some folds; the first leaves somewhat damaged and spotted, otherwise an extraordinarily clean and well preserved copy. Capitals do not have strokes. Page headings in small, somewhat damaged Lombardic letters, alternating red and blue without additions. Chapter numbers roman, alternating red and blue, without additions. Chapter beginnings simple, likewise alternating. some of the large initials at the beginning in gold and color, from which leaf tendrils stretch out, otherwise mostly blue and red combined or also of one color, as a rule with filigree work in red, green or violet pen work. - Binding full leather, with red edges from 1803 or soon after. - Certainly coming from one of the Trier monasteries. Given to the library by its head librarian, Wyttenbach in 1803. de Riccie 15 (together with Copy 2).

(14) Trier, Stadtbibliothek. (Second copy). Paper. 365:271 mm. One volume containing I, 261 to 265, 267-324, and II, however without leaves 3-8, 10-21, 24-29, 31, 33-37, 40-50, 52-59, 219-220, 262, 305, 314-15, 317; the first leaves present besides in poor condition, also evidences of use and repairs. Capitals without strokes. No old page headings (added in the sixteenth century in black). Chapter numbers only in one part of the gospels and there in red figures with 'Ca<sup>m</sup>', otherwise only on



the borders of the prefaces with ink. The chapter beginnings exclusively red. The large initials are combined from red and blue, or of one color with painted ornamentation, here and there with decoration in the manner of the Psalter printing. - Binding from the second half of the sixteenth century, probably 1569 (this number appears under a table of contents and is set in an initial). I, 261-324 (Tobias to Psalter) is bound between II, 161 and 162 (Propheten und Makkabäer). The piece was there before 1569. - Certainly came from a Trier monastery: (Marginal marking: 'Hucusque legitur in refectorio')<sup>1/</sup> Found by Wyttenbach in a farm house near Trier.<sup>2/</sup> Gottfr. Kentenich, Trierische Chronik 2, Trier 1906, p. 146; Facsimile of II, 279<sup>V</sup> in Franz Steffens, Latin Paläographie, 1. Auflage, Freiburg (Switzerland) 1903, table 89. de Ricci 15 (Together with Copy 1).

(15) Wien, Nationalbibliothek, Inc. 3B14..Paper. 398/400:288mm. Complete, with the Tabula Rubricarum at the beginning of the first volume. I, 129-158 in the second impression. Condition, overlooking damp stains and some initials effaced by moisture, excellent. Page headings in red missal script carefully and neatly executed. Chapter numbers roman, entirely in red, in some places with blue dots between the numbers. Chapter beginnings alternating red and blue, with inner and outward ornamentation in other colors. The large initials very artistically executed; the body of the letters formed from leaf or also ribbon work on four cornered fields, attached thereto and often running



far into the margins are tendrils and leaves, many with birds, apes and so forth, all rich in color and gold. - Binding, modern red morocco binding of the court library with rich gilding of the spine and gilt edges. - Originally in private ownership: in the decoration of I, 1<sup>r</sup> below, the monogram BE; then in two places (I, 192 and II, 189) with only slight variations in the inscription:<sup>1530</sup> 'Ich Achacius Rimer (Rynner?) pffarer zu Bisanel (Besanel) gib vnnd schengk der bibl der edlenn tugenthafften vnd andachtigenn frawen katherina, d~~es~~ edlenn vnd strengenn herrn Karl Trappen herrn zu Basein, der graffschaft Tyrol Ertzhoffmeyster Eliche tochter vnd professen inn dem wirdigenn gotzhaws im Staynach; hoffennd, das sy mit sambt irenn Ersamen frummen vnnd andachtigen conventschwestern für mich vnd sunder des erwirdigen herrn Benedict wegmacher pfarer zu Tyrol (von dem<sup>ich</sup> die ererbt hab) fleyssig wellenn pitten. 15 AR 30.' In addition, several marks of ownership of the Steinach monastery (Maria-Steinach). - Facsimile of I, 1<sup>ra</sup> (25 lines) by Karl Faulmann, Illustrierte Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst, Wien 1882, Table 2 and in Brockhaus Konversationslexikon under Buchdruckerkunst; of I, 129 and the Tabula Rubricarum in the present supplement volume, leaves 34 and 92-95. - De Ricci 29. (16) Pelplin, Bischöfliches Priesterseminar. Paper. II, 15-16 in the second impression. II, 317 (end of the Apocalypse) is wanting. 405:290 mm. Many uncut paper margins. As a result of dampness, the paper is decayed in many places and the red and





blue colors have run and offset; otherwise the printing is in good condition. Page headings and chapter numbers in red missal script, beginnings of chapters simple, red and blue alternating. The large initials are composed of red and blue, which alternate regularly in their position; inner and outer ornamentation in pen and ink of the same colors. Gold only in 'F' on leaf I, 1. - Binding the original wood covers and brown tooled leather with the name stamp of the Lübeck bookbinder Heinricus Coster; bosses and metal fittings in part preserved. - In the sixteenth century in the Bernardine monastery Löbau, founded in 1502 (inscription: 'Pro loco Lubanuiensi'), it came to Pelplin with this library in 1833. Used by Schwenke in Berlin Festschrift of 1900; with facsimile of separate places on pages 10, 20, 25, 28, 29, 36, 39, 42, 68. de Ricci 22. (17) St. Petersburg, Öffentliche Bibliothek.<sup>1/</sup> Paper. 380:281 mm. II, 1-16 and 162<sup>r</sup> in the second impression. The missing leaf II, 1 restored in manuscript at a later time. Condition in general good; slight evidences of reading, but many hand written alterations; worm holes, especially at the beginning of the first volume, volume two water-spotted. Page headings, so far as executed, almost always in red missal script, very rarely in Lombardic letters, which alternate between red and blue. Chapter numbers in red missal script with 'ca' or something similar. Chapter beginnings alternating red and blue. The large initials in different colors (red, blue, green, orange) gold



and silver, with filling in pen and ink, often with attached leaf work and with ornamental balls on the margins. - Modern binding from the middle of the nineteenth century. - On I, 1 the inscription (probably from the seventeenth century): Sum B. V. Mariae in Rottenbuch; at the secularization, it came to the Staatsbibliothek München, rejected by this library and acquired at auction on May 3, 1858 through Busch in Augsburg for 2336 gulden by the Petersburg library. Described by Joh. Bapt. Bernhart, with collation of the leaves in the second impression, in Joh. Christoph. v. Aretinus, Beiträgen zur Gesch. u. Literatur, Volume 3, München 1804. St. 12, pages 70 ff. - de Ricci 28.

(18) Kopenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek.<sup>1/</sup> Paper. Only Volume two. 376:288 mm. Leaf 1 missing. Condition excellent. Page headings in Lombardic form, all red, likewise the roman chapter numbers (without additions) and the beginnings of chapters, those at the beginning being provided with ornamentation (leaves 2-10). The rubrics are inserted in part in black and in more casual script. The large initials are in different colors and in gold, with filling in pen and ink, and in spreading leaves and branches of flowers. - Full leather binding of the seventeenth century with the ex-libris of the Gottorper Bibliothek. It probably came to the library from either the monastery at Bordesholm or Cismar, from thence to Kopenhagen. Facsimile of II, 197<sup>r</sup> in Chr. Bruun, De nyeste Undersogelser om Bogtrykker-



kunstens Opfindelse, Kopenhagen 1889. Table 6. de Ricci 27.

(19) Rome, Bibliotheca Vaticana. Stamp. Barb. AAAIV.17.<sup>1/</sup>  
Vellum. 410/17:300 mm. 68 leaves of the second impression, see  
tables. In Volume two there is wanting 176, 185-88, in con-  
trast, leaf 318 is present. Page headings in Lombardic script,  
the single letters alternating in red and blue. Chapter numbers  
in red missal script, mostly without additions. Chapter begin-  
nings alternating red and blue with different colored decora-  
tions (red, violet, green, gray). The larger initials in gold  
and colors (blue, red, green, brown, yellow, gray). The begin-  
ning 'F' in blue and gold, with an ornamental frame around the  
entire page; one unimportant figure representation only I, 261  
(Tobias). - Binding modern (Bodoni). The end papers with an old  
index of contents have been transferred from the original bind-  
ing. - No signs of ancient provenance: possibly identical with  
the lost copy from the Mainzer Universitätsbibliothek (under  
number 46). In 1837 it came to the Barbarini Bibliothek and  
with this passed to the Vatican in 1902. de Ricci 32.

(20) Lissabon, Bibliotheca Nacional.<sup>2/</sup> Paper. I, 1-10, II, 1-16  
and 162<sup>r</sup> in the second impression. 385:274/80 mm. Superior con-  
dition, almost no erasure and very few spots from dampness. A  
peculiarity of this copy is that the Apocalypse is bound between  
the Pauline epistles and the Acts of the Apostles. Page headings  
in gay, somewhat decorated Lombardic script, the letters alter-  
nating red and blue, the red also with blue strokes. Chapter





numbers in red missal script with horizontal strokes for filling up spaces. Chapter beginnings alternating red and blue. Large initials composed of red and blue, with ornamentation in the margins. - Binding from 1860; red morocco with the royal arms of Portugal, engraved gilt edges and silken linings. Previously in green morocco by Derome. - No evidence of old provenance. Belonged to Cardinal Lomenie of Brienne (Fr. X. Laire, Index 1, Senonis 1791, pages 5-11, number 6; therein is cited erroneously the entry belonging to number 5 from Heilbronn (that is the Oxford copy). In the auction taken at 2499 francs, 19 sous, then bought by the Lisbon bookdealer Borel and Co. and in 1805 sold to the Royal Library for 700 milreis. Described by A(quilino) R(ibeiro), Anals das Bibliotecas e arquivos, serie II, volume 1, Lisbon, 1920, pages 192-199. de Ricci 33.

(21) Burgos, Bibliotheca Provincial. Paper.<sup>1/</sup>

(22) Sevilla, Biblioteca Universitaria y Provincial. Paper. Only the New Testament. (II, 190 ff.).<sup>2/</sup>

(23) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Velins 67-70 (Expos. 41). 399:300 mm. Four volumes (Divided like number 7 above). Overlooking some evidence of use in the margins, very good condition. At the beginning many corrections, later many signs of emphasis and punctuation. Page headings in red missal script, also the chapter numbers (with 'C'). Chapter headings in lively, in part somewhat damaged Lombardic letters, alter-



nating red and blue. The large initials mostly in color (bodies in leaf work) on gold grounds or the opposite, the outlines curved or serrated. The initials with wide reaching ornamentation in the manner of the Psalter initials, also exceptionally large wavy tendrils with flowers. - Binding, now in four volumes (after 1788) in red morocco with gilt edges and the royal arms of France. - Belonged when bound in two volumes to the Benedictine monastery of St. James in Mainz, whose marks of ownership are still visible on I, 1 and II, 1; 1767 ceded to Dom Maugérard and sold by him to Dupré de Geneste, with whose library (through the Cardinal Lomenie de Brienne) it came to the royal library in 1788, at the time valued at 500 livres.- Joseph van Praet, Catalogue des livres imprimés sur vélin de la Bibliothèque du Roi, Volume 1, Paris 1822, pages 15-18 - Leop. Delisle, À la mémoire de Jean Gutenberg, Paris 1900, page 13 and table. (Facsimile of I, 101<sup>V</sup>). de Ricci 11.

(24) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. A 71. Paper. 400/05: 292 mm. Seriously damaged but a priceless copy on account of the inscriptions (see above page 2). It lacks (the leaves marked with an asterisk present only in larger or smaller parts) I, 1-43, 44\*, 45, 46, 47\*, 48\*, 63, 70-73, 102, 108, 129, 137-48, 153-158-159, 154, 170, 176-77, 193, 219-223, 226\*, 231, 238-39, 247, 260-61, 266, 280, 293, 320, 324\*; II, 1-31, 32\*, 46, 50-51, 70, 100-106, 121-123, 129-132, 141-142, 150-156, 166, 189-91, 269, 279, 286. On the other hand, the blank leaf II, 318 is present if also



damaged. Many of the margins are cut down, on the upper margins damages from dampness, towards the end of volume two wormholes. Many underlinings and manuscript remarks. Still the printing is preserved here and there in sparkling condition. - Page headings irregular; partly in Lombardic (here and there, on one page red, the other blue, or single letters varying, sometimes even in gold) partly in red missal script, often the page headings only on the verso page. Chapter numbers roman, most without additions. Chapter beginnings very hastily executed, red and blue alternating. The large initials (of which almost half are missing with the leaves) red or blue, or composed of both colors, sometimes also in gold; filling and outer ornamentation in the manner of the Psalter printing, or with small leafy twigs. - Binding torn away but the old stitching on five double bands of leather is still present; capitals brightly affixed; the endpapers are new. In volume two leaf 99 is bound after leaf 100. - Now preserved in two boxes. - On I, 324<sup>v</sup> the inscription: 'Et sic est finis prime partis biblie scilicet veteris testamenti. Illuminata seu rubricata et ligata per Henricum Albch<sup>1</sup>/ alius Cremer Anno domini M<sup>o</sup> cccc<sup>o</sup> lvi<sup>o</sup> festo Bartolomei apostoli [24 August.] Deo gracias Allenluia.' and II, 318 'iste liber illuminatus ligatus et completus est per henricum Cremer vicarium ecclesie collegiate sancti Stephani maguntimi sub anno domini Millesimoquadringentesimoquingagesimosexto festo Assumpcionis gloriose virginis Marie [15 August.] Deo gracias Alleluia etc.'





Underneath this, in the middle of the line, an incomplete note, which Maugérard still had read in full, but now only provides the sense (following him, the entire sense): 'Anno domini Millesimoquadringentesim[o quinquagesimo septimo] in die Sancti Georii martiris Inchoata est illa solemnis missa corpore Christi in o[r]tu solis omnibus quinti]s feriis in Parochiali ecclesia ville Osthem solemniter decantanda per Bertholdum p [... de Steyna ,,,] viceplebanum in Osthem. Quare eandem missam celebrans eundem pres[biterum in oracione memoret?] B. p.'

According to this, the Bible must have been in Ostheim (near Hanau) at a very early time. Later it was in the Electoral Library in Mainz (seen by Zapf in 1788), about 1789 it was made over to Maugérard and sold by him to the Bibliothèque Nationale. G. K. Zapf, "Älteste Buchdruckergeschichte von Mainz, Ulm 1790, pages 127 ff. - Leop. Delisle, À la mémoire de Jean Gutenberg, Paris, 1900, pages 14, 73-75, tables 5 & 6. (With reproduction of the inscription in photogravure and offprint of the essay by Maugérard.). de Ricci 12.

(25) Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1 and 1A. Paper. 397: 289/95 mm. Complete, and overlooking a wormhole in the first gathering, excellently preserved. Page headings (only on the recto side) red, in missal script, likewise the chapter numbers, mostly without 'Cap!'. Chapter beginnings alternating red and blue, with long and in some places thickened concluding strokes. The large initials simple, but well made, the body of the letters



either entirely smooth or consisting of ornamental leaf work (colors: red, blue, light purple, green, orange), most with ornamentation in pen and ink (violet, greenish and so forth). - Binding red morocco of the eighteenth century (Padeloup?). In the second volume leaf 281 incorrectly bound after 268. - leaf one of each volume, the inscription 'Liber bibliothecae Jani Joberti camerarii laici ecclesiae parisiensis et in curia patroni ... (?)' about whom I have been able to ascertain nothing. He entered annotations in several places in Latin and French, once with the date 1652. First mentioned in the Bibliothèque Mazarine by G. F. de Bure, Bibliographie Instru<sup>c</sup>tive, Théologie, Paris 1763, number 25 (Compare above, page 10). - For description of this copy, compare P. Madden, 'Études sur l'imprimerie in La typologie Tucker, Volume 1, Paris 1873/76, page 59 m. Facsimile of II, 17<sup>v</sup>. de Ricci 13.

(26) St. Omer, Bibliothèque Communale, No. 7. Paper. Volume one only. 381/88:273/75 mm. Leaves 31.32 and 130-137 in the second impression. Leaf 241 is completed by hand on vellum. Condition good, a little damaged through hand pointers and other signs, as well as inscribed annotations from a later time. Page headings totally wanting. Capitals with yellow transparent strokes. Chapter numbers roman, without additions, alternating red and blue. Chapter beginnings likewise alternating. The large initials are mostly composed of red and



blue, many also in single colors. Oranmentation only in the 'B' of the Psalter. - Simple binding of brown leather, with the arms of the Abbot of Sr. St. Berin, Mommelin le Riche (1706-1723) pasted on. Probably in the possession of the Abbey before this; its mark of ownership Liber Bibliothecae Bertiniana, apparently of the seventeenth century, and a table of contents was already present before rebinding. It came to the Stadtbibliothek St. Omer through the secularization. de Ricci 14.

(27) Edinburgh, Advocates Library, Ms. Room, press O, shelf b. Paper. 377/80:276 mm. Sixty-eight leaves and one page in the second impression. See Table. Condition middling. Evidences of use especially in the beginning; some leaves of the first volume repaired; many late marginal markings apparently washed. The paper was pressed very thin in the last binding. One initial and some text is cut away from II, 270. - Page headings entirely in red, for the most part Lombardic, partly, however, simpler capitals; old leaf numbering in red. Chapter numbers roman, entirely in red, without additions. The chapter beginnings, many times somewhat damaged Lombardics, should be alternating red and blue, the blues are missing, however, a large part of the time, or are only outlined. The large initials in different colors and gold vary from the otherwise usual form; frequently they have antiqua form. 'I' is formed often as a tower, once as a dragon. Several times a figure representation is present in the filling of initials. Compare the facsimiled pages I, 52<sup>r</sup>,





II, 22<sup>r</sup>, 162<sup>r</sup> (Supplement volume, leaves 80-81). - Binding modern, Scottish: Russian leather, with gilt covers, inside corners, and gold edges. One one leaf bound in there is a long annotation by David Stuart dated 3, Kal. Oct. 1796 about the printing of the Bible. To judge from the style of the initials, which differs from all other copies, this was probably in Scotland, or at least in Britain from the beginning. Given to the Advocates Library by Daniel Stewart, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 1781. de Ricci 7.

(28) Eton College Library. Paper. Volume two with one of the blank leaves at the end. 404:295 mm., often with uncut margins of the paper. Condition very good. In the first volume, on the margins, various letters, A-H and P. S. T., in red or black, referring to the readings, sometimes with the note "In refectorio". Page headings at the beginnings of volume 1 in Lombardic letters, alternating red and blue, or entirely in red, from 36<sup>v</sup> on in clumsy red missal script, likewise II, 1-50<sup>r</sup> in red Lombardics, then in missal script. Chapter numbers agree with this (first roman without additions, the elements in alternating colors or all red, then missal script with 'C' and others) and the beginnings of the chapters. The large initials mostly composed of red and blue, with or without filling and outer ornamentation, only at the beginnings of the volumes some in richer execution in gold and colors, two with representations of figures (I, 5 God the creator, II, 1 King Solomon)



and tendrils running around the margins, decorated with flowers, fruit and birds. - Binding the original in wood boards with light pigskin, richly stamped ornamentation and clasps, by the Erfurt bookbinder, Johan Fogel (Schwenke, in *Wiegendrucke und Handschriften, Festgabe f. Konrad Haebler, Leipzig, 1919, pp.129 ff.*). At the front and at the end white paper with the watermark of the scales. Volume one with the old Bible signature K 6. Inside the covers there are present several documents, one of them dated 1452, in part only in offset. Mentioned are *Oppidum et incole oppidi Erffordensis, St. Egidien in Nürnberg* and *Ecclesia Bibacensis (Biberach)*. Other than the binding, no signs of provenance. Thomas Fr. Dibden, *Library Companion, second edition, London 1825, note, names as owner John Fuller by whom it was given to Eton College (Fr. St. John Thackeray, Eton College Library, Eton, 1881, pp. 21 ff.)*. De Ricci 5, supposed its identification with the lost copy of L. d'Orches (under 50).

(29) London, British Museum, Grenville 12226 (IC 56). Vellum. I, 1-30, 129-158, II, 1-16 in the second impression. 395:285/97 mm. Well preserved, nevertheless there are emphasis marks and some corrections to the text executed in ink. Page headings are entirely wanting. Chapter numbers in red missal script with 'Ca.'. Beginnings of the chapters alternating in red and blue (Lombardic letters, mostly of pearl size). The large initials made up of red and blue with various curves and points,



with exception only of red or blue with white ornamentation.- Bound originally in three volumes, (Pentateuch to Esdras; Tobias to Ezekiel; Daniel to Apocalypse), before 1879 rebound in two volumes of red morocco, later imprinted with the Ex Libris of Thomas Grenville. - According to some marginal notes and reading guides used for public readings, probably in a monastery. According to information from Meermans, it came from the Carthusian house in Mainz,<sup>1/</sup> with certainty first demonstrably in the possession of Louis Jean Guignat; later with Girardot de Préfond (1769 for 2100 francs, 1 sou), MacCarthy (about 1775), Thomas Grenville (1817 for 6260 francs), through whose legacy it has been in the British Museum since 1846. Listed in the sales catalogues of Gaignat (1769), MacCarthy (1817), of the Bibl. Grenvillana (John Thomas Payne and Henry Foss) I, London 1842, page 74, and in the Cat. of books pr. in the 15th century now in the Brit. Mus., Part 1, London 1908, page 17. Facsimile of I, 1<sup>r</sup> in W. A. Copinger, Incunabula Biblica, London 1892, Table 1; I, 5<sup>r</sup> reduced in Fred. G. Kenyon, Our Bible and the ancient manuscripts, second edition, London 1896, Table 22: II, 191<sup>r</sup>, lines 1-24 in H. N. Humphreys, History of the art of printing, London 1867, table 13. de Ricci 1. (30) London, British Museum, King's Library. C9d3.4 (IC 55). Paper. I, 1-20 in the second impression. 397/400:287/90 mm. Condition good; a few corrections and, at the beginning, some reading marks; the first leaves have suffered somewhat from





dampness. At the rebinding, the paper was pressed extraordinarily smooth. Page headings in small Lombards, red, but on some leaves in volume two, alternating red and blue. Chapter numbers in red, in I roman, in two missal script, the latter mostly with 'Cap.'. Beginnings of chapters only in red, in I with 'pearls' and occasionally with white open spaces. The bodies of the large initials mostly composed of red and blue, often also of one color, partly with fillings and outer ornamentation. Richer execution in gold and colors and on the pages surrounding tendril work with leaves, flowers, birds and so forth, only at the beginnings of the volumes (I, 5 in 'I' the creator, II, 1 in 'P' King Solomon). - Binding blue morocco, with rich stamping, inner corners and gilt edges for George III. On the first leaf of each volume an inscription of the seventeenth century, cancelled with ink and partly cut away, which undoubtedly read: S. Ja(cobi) Scotorum Herb(ipolensis), visible in the reduced facsimile of I 1<sup>r</sup> in J. H. Slater, How to collect books, London 1905, deutsch; Handbuch f. Büchersammler, Jena, 1906. Other facsimiles: I, 293<sup>r</sup> in Facsimiles from early printed books in the British Museum, London 1897, Table 5; II, 1<sup>r</sup> in H. N. Humphreys, History of the art of printing, London 1867, Table 14 (incorrectly described as 'vellum copy'). de Ricci 2. 1/ (31) London, Arch<sup>i</sup>episcopal library, Lambeth Palace. Ms Number 15. Vellum. Only the New Testament (II, 190 ff.). 410:300 mm. Of extraordinary freshness of condition, only the last leaves



somewhat damaged by dampness. The copy is ruled in black, the capitals without strokes. Page headings in missal script, with Lombardic initials, these alternately red and black, the small letters always red. Chapter numbers in red missal script, prefixed by 'Ca.' and other forms. Chapter beginnings as a rule blue with red pen ornamentation, which spreads into the margins. Also, in the incipits and the explicits the rubra I and E always in blue. The large initials in gold and colors (blue, purple, rose-color, green, orange), in the margins wavy climbers with flowers and small branches, also running along the shaft dividing the columns of printing, to which the leaf work is fastened, and which runs on in bunches of flowers. - Present binding in brown morocco with the mark of the Bibliotheca Lambethiana from about 1885. The antecedent complete copy was, as the numbers of the quires indicate, bound in two volumes. - According to the style of the ornamentation, this copy was in England from the beginning. On leaf 219 the inscription of one John ... (?) (fifteenth or sixteenth century). In the beginning of the seventeenth century it was in the possession of Archbishop Bancroft (d. 1610) and came with his books to the Archiepiscopal Library, already then incomplete. H. J. Todd, Catalogue of the Archiepiscopal Manuscripts in the Library at Lambeth Palace, London 1812, Number 15. de Ricci 6.

(32) Manchester, John Rylands Library. Paper. 400:290 mm.

Complete, with one of the blank leaves at the end of the second



volume. Of distinguished condition, without corrections and almost spotless (unfortunately II, 267<sup>V</sup> has red ink poured on it). Capitals with red strokes, the wider ones with slanted or double strokes. Page headings in Lombardic letters, alternating red and blue. In the same sequence, the single elements of the (roman) chapter numbers and chapter beginnings. The large initials carefully and prettily executed in gold and colors, the bodies mostly formed of leaf work, on four-cornered, often, however, on otherwise outlined backgrounds, with pen ornamentation, the letters spreading out in small or larger leaves; many letters sketched out first. - Binding, blue morocco, probably by Roger Payne, with outer and inner margins in gold and Lord Spencer's arms in blind tooling. - On the first leaf of each volume the erased, with resulting uncertain wording, mark of ownership of the Cistercian Monastery of Erbach (Eberbach) in the Rhine country. (On the plundering of the monastic library, see Paul Jürges, Nassauische Heimatblätter 20, Wiesbaden, 1916/17, pp. 63 ff.). Bought by Lord Spencer in 1814 and went with his library to the John Rylands Library in 1892. - Thomas Fr. Dibdin, Bibliotheca Spenceriana I, London 1814, pp. 3-6. de Ricci 4. (33) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. M. 1-2. Paper. 405:292 mm. Volume two with both of the unprinted leaves at the end, which are inscribed with a Summa historica biblie magistri petri pictaviensis. Excellently preserved, a very few spots and almost





no corrections; in rebinding the blue has suffered somewhat. Chapter headings in Lombardics, set between ornamental strokes, the strokes and letters alternating blue and red. Chapter numbers roman, without additions, alternating red and blue, but always the entire number of the same color. Chapter beginnings likewise alternating, the letters here and there with pearl-like thickening. The large initials carefully executed, mostly with simple red or blue bodies, pen ornaments in the appropriate alternate color, with small points inserted in the first color.; in exceptions, letters composed of red and blue and ornamented in other colors. Here, as also in the chapter beginning 'Ts', many times also in 'E' and 'V', are in the antiqua form. - Binding originally no doubt blue, now somewhat greenish morocco with gilt edges, by Derome the younger, 1785; later the Ex Libris of the Bibliotheca Bodleiana was impressed; - on the first leaves of both volumes erased marks of ownership 'Carmeli Heibronnensis'. The old binding contained, according to Laire (compare number 20) the dedication; 'Erhardus Neninger magister ciuium in Heylsprunn qui dedit illud fratribus Sabctae Mariae de Monte Carmeli ad urticas prope dictam civitatem.' At the latest in 1785 in the possession of Cardinal Loménie de Brienne (Fr. X. Laire, Index I, Senonis 1791, pp. 5-11, number 5), placed at auction in 1793 and sold for 100 £ to the Bodleian. de Ricci 3.

(34) Privatbibliothek C. W. Dyson Perrins<sup>1/</sup>; Davenham (Malvern,



Worcester). Paper. Only volume one. 404:300 mm, many untrimmed paper margins. Very good condition, few spots and no corrections. Page headings in Lombardic letters, alternating red and blue. The elements of the (roman) chapter numbers and the beginnings of the chapters in the same color rotation. Large colored initials artistically executed, with enclosing vine work. - Binding the original in wooden boards, with stamped brown tooled leather and with simple clasps (rebacked), surely from a Mainz book-binder<sup>1/</sup>, - belonged to the Earl of Gosford in Armagh; April 1884 auctioned by the bookdealer Toovey; bought back by him for £500 and then resold to Lord Amherst of Hackney for £600. In his auction (December 1908) for £2050 to the present owner. - de Ricci 41.

(35) Private library of Col. Douglas J. Proby, Elton Hall (Peterborough). Paper. 378:275 mm. II, 1-16 in the second impression. Volume two with one of the blank pages at the end. Condition: middling: cut down a lot at the top, many evidences of use and reading signs; in the margins in coarse red letters, marks for the lections, for which this copy was apparently used until the seventeenth century. - Page headings in Lombardic script, in one the letters alternate red and blue, in II only in red. Chapter numbers in red missal script, set between dots without additions. The Lombardic letters at the beginnings of the chapters ornamented with pearls, dots or thickening, often of somewhat bizarre forms, alternating red and blue.



The large initials very varied; partly in gold and varied colors, with outspreading vines, others only in red and blue, curved or also single colored with pen and ink ornamentation; at the beginning more carefully executed than later. - Binding wooden covers with stamped brown leather, likely of south German origin. Volume one with the date 1600. - According to an inlaid leaf 'discovered by a gentleman in a monastery abroad, who sold it to Mr. Perry'. Together with this, there appears a marginal note on II, 47: 'Notandum quod de libro ysaie nichil legitur in refectorio, sed totus in ecclesia.' Other owners after James Perry; Duke of Sussex (1822-1868); Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, Bibliotheca Sussexiana I, 2 London, 1827, page 288 to 293 and table 3; Daly bishop of Cashel (1844, £190; 1858 for £596 to Quaritch; - Earl of Crawford; 1887 for £2650 to the Earl of Carysfort in Elton (d. 1909), now in the possession of his heirs.- de Ricci 8.

(36) Private library of A. W. Young. London. Paper. 392:289 mm. Thirty-three leaves in the second impression. See table.

Good condition, I, 1 somewhat rubbed, the first leaves of the second volume with evidences of dampness, other small defects skillfully improved. Capitals only to the beginning of the second volume with strokes in red. Page headings in red missal script, likewise the chapter numbers. Beginnings of the chapters alternating red and blue, mostly in the usual Lombardic form, many, however, also entirely irregular, disfigured or in Antiqua





form. The large initials very rich, but somewhat uniform: the bodies of the letters formed from colored leaf work, the ribs strengthened through dots on other colored or gold background, therein enclosing branches and in special cases larger vines with flowers (pomegranate blossoms, columbine, carnations). Colors chiefly rose, red, livid, green, purple, orange, brown.- Binding full leather of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, lining of colored paper, on the front cover the Ex Libris of the Earl of Hopetown. From his auction (February 1889) for £2000 to Quaritch and through him to the present owner. On the leaf work of the 'I' on leaf II, 1, an angel holding a silver and golden shield. - de Ricci 10.

(37) In the trade (Mr. Sabin, London).<sup>1/</sup> Paper. 390:286 mm. Lacks fifty-three leaves and ninety-six others are damaged through the cutting out of initials. Some wormholes, for the rest well preserved. Page headings in Lombardic letters, alternating red and blue. Large initials in gold and color. - Binding calf, gilt, with the arms of Maria Augusta von Sultzbach (questionable, whether identical with the spouse of Elector Karl Philipp Theodor, of the founders of the Mannheimer Hofbibliothek, born 1721, married 1742). Passed with the Mannheimer Bibliothek to the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek München, sold from there as a duplicate for 350 gulden, was for some time lost, it has now come to view in the library of Baroness Zouche of Haryngworth in Parham, in Fulborough, Sussex, and was



won in her sale for £2750 by the Antiquarian Sabin. - Joh. Bapt. Bernhart in Joh. Chistoph v. Aretins Beiträgen z. Geschichte und Literatur, volume 3, München 1804, St. 12, pp. 70 ff. Auction Catalogues of Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, volume 9, Nov. 1920, p. 15, Number 70 with reduced facsimile of II, 190<sup>r</sup>.<sup>1/</sup> de Ricci 53=87.

(38) New York, Public Library. Paper. 385:270 mm. Parts in the second impression. See table. The missing leaves I, 1-4 replaced with a modern reprint with type especially cut for the purpose, but completely defective in the cutting, the initials pasted in from a Bible manuscript. Otherwise, apparently in good condition, but restored probably by washing, through which much was obliterated. In places, much material written in. In the rebinding, the gatherings were completely misplaced, from this II, 84-88 came into incorrect position. Capitals first with red, then from I, 260 on, with gold, in large parts of volume two, especially, without strokes. Page headings in Lombardic letters, alternating red and blue, on the versos the 'Is' are always red. Chapter numbers roman ('V' in rounder Lombardic form), at first entirely red, from I, 7<sup>v</sup> on in changing colors. The chapter headings also in the same. The large initials very simple, but pretty well executed; the body of the letters mostly in red, in exceptional cases combined from red and blue, with filling in black pen strokes and outer ornamentation in blue, red and black. - binding in blue-green morocco,



with outer and inner gilt, linings of colored paper, put on after 1793 and before the substitution of the missing leaves. - No signs of old locations. Belonged to the Abbe J. J. Rive, sold in Marseille 1793 for 60 francs (then still in brown 'Gothic' binding), then in Paris 1803 for 400 francs to Firman-Didot, who had the four leaves made up. In the auction of his library 1811 (1000 francs) put into retirement. Appeared again in the possession of George Hibbert (sold London 1829 £215), J. Wilkes (Sold 1847 £300), James Lenox in New York, with whose foundation to the Public Library.- de Ricci 34=48.

(39) New York, General Theological Seminary. Paper. 380:268 mm. Condition, overlooking some spots and wormholes, as well as some repairs, distinguished. Capitals do not have strokes. Page headings in missal script, the beginning letters adorned with flourishes, only red. Likewise the chapter numbers, with 'Ca.'. Chapter beginnings somewhat adorned Lombards without ornamentation, alternating red and blue. The large initials in part in somewhat bizarre form, at the beginning formed from varied colored leaf work and stretching out in tendrils and blooms, further on mostly consisting of red and blue halves, which leave open a separate area between them, or also simply red or blue. - Binding blue morocco, with outer and inner gilt, silken lining and gilt edges. - On I, 1 an erased inscription. In various places inscriptions of the following persons: Georgius Stader Uberlingianus 1584 and 1594, Udalricus Siber choralis Offen-





burgensis 1594, Bernhard Siber coralis zu Offenburg 1601 and 1603, Martinus Cross 1604, Michel Regesler 1604, Frantz Bekh 1608, Frantz Laister corales (!) huius ecclesia 1608, Christianus Spizmesser 1613, Johannes Christotomus Freius Frater Choralis, Leonhardus Augst (O. J.). According to this, the Bible was in Offenburg in Baden at the indicated times. Emerged in the possession of Sir John Thorold (Syston Park Library), sold 1884 for £3900 to Quaritch, then to the Reverend William Makeller in Edinburgh (sold 1898 for £2950 to Quaritch). de Ricci 35.

(40) Private property of James E. Ellsworth. New York. Paper. <sup>1/</sup>405:295 mm. Volume I, quire 1, in the second impression. Seventeen leaves with initials wanting and replaced with photolithographic facsimiles. (In I, 1, II, 1.17.25.46.70.149.155.191.217.235.268.270.275.279.305.) for the rest, an extraordinarily well preserved, fresh copy, with one of the blank leaves at the end of volume two; many of the leaves with untrimmed edges. A few corrections, but many numbers in ink in the margins of the gospels. Capitals only with red strokes at the beginning. Page headings and chapter numbers in missal script in red, the last ones in part with the addition of 'C' and other forms. Chapter beginnings alternating red and blue, some also in black. The large initials beautiful in color (blue, red, lilac, green) and gold on appropriate backgrounds, outstretching from them are vines and leaves, in part with fruit, birds and so forth. - Binding, the original, Erfurt 'Bookbinder of the 42 line Bible'



(see above, number 4). A picture of one of the front covers in the sales catalogue of Brayton Ives, New York, American Art Galleries, 5.3. 1891. - Was in the secular church in Erfurt until 1870; sold to A. Cohn in Berlin (recorded at 4000 thaler); by him to George Brinley in Hartford (Conn.); other owners, Hamilton Cole, New York (1881 \$8000); Brayton Ives (\$16,000); James W. Ellsworth (1891, \$14,800). Described by Bruno Stübel in *Serapeum* 31, Leipzig 1870, pages 230-234 and 241-248. de Ricci 36 (41) Library of H. E. Huntington, New York and S. Gabriel, California. Vellum. 415:310 mm. II, 15-16 in second impression. Two leaves (I, 269 and II, 316) in facsimile by Whithaker, otherwise in especially pure and fresh condition. Page headings in somewhat adorned Lombardic letters, alternating red and blue. Chapter numbers roman, the single elements likewise alternating. Chapter beginnings red and blue alternating with ornamentation in the opposite color. The large initials rich in color and gold, many other representations of figures, from which wide marginal ornamentation extends. - Binding the original wooden covers with blind tooled leather, the grain unfortunately seriously damaged, the tooling therefore hard to recognize, however probably from a Leipzig workshop.<sup>1/</sup> The ornamented clasps remain, the spine has been rebacked. On the end papers of volume one the entry (fifteenth century?): AD (possibly the initials of the 2/ owner?): Prima pars biblie preciose, ambe partes valent centum flor, renenses. In both volumes, the name Otto H(err) v(on)



Notitz (in any case, the royal captain of Schweidnitz and Liegnitz, died 1664, known as a book collector) and on the front cover the Ex Libris: Ex bibliotheca Maioratus Familiae Nostizianae 1774, without doubt it was in Prague, although Friedr. Karl Gottlob Hirsching, Versuch e Beschreibung sehensw. Bibli. Deutschland, Erlangen, III 1788, pages 421 ff. and IV 1791, pages 268 ff. does not mention the Bible. Through the Regensberger dealer Alexander Horn it went to George and William Nicol in London, in whose sale 1825 for £504 to Henry Perkins. Other owners: 1873, Earl of Ashburnham (£3400), 1897 Quaritch (£400, his Catalogue 175, 1897, £5000); soon after to Robert Hoe in New York (died 1909); his sale catalogue I, 1, number 269 with facsimile of I, 285<sup>vb</sup>, lines 1-24); 1911, Henry E. Huntington for \$50,000). - de Ricci 40. 1/

(42) Library of Pierpont Morgan, New York. Vellum. Parts of the second impression. See table. 410:302 mm. I, 1-5 and II, 273 entirely, I, 177.260 partly in facsimile, in addition on many leaves, especially those with initial ornamentation, the upper and lower margins are cut away entirely, or partly and completed in modern time, whereby lines of text were damaged at the same time. Otherwise, the condition of the text is good. The entire copy is ruled in black. Capitals with strokes in yellow. Page headings in Lombardic letters, alternating blue and red, always beginning with blue. Chapter numbers in red missal script, with 'Ca.' and other forms. The decoration of





the initials extraordinarily rich, those in the chapter beginnings always in gold, with filling and borders alternating red and blue, heightened with white, the outlines curved and notched. In the same manner, the three and four line initials. The larger ones on a gold ground with alternating colors (blue, green, orange and so forth) and ornamentation (pointed leaves). Compare above, number 9. Rich leaf work, especially on the upper and lower borders, usually only over the width of one column, but these pieces frequently trimmed and improved. - Modern binding in brown morroco - According to the decoration, of French-Burgundian origin. - Sold in 1864 by E. Tross for 15,000 francs to an English collector; 1897 in the possession of H. Sotheran, from whom it was sold to Pierpont Morgan. Cat. of MSS and printed books now forming portion of the library of J. Pierpont Morgan. (2) Early printed books, Volume One, London, 1907, page 10. Facsimile of II, 1<sup>r</sup> in W. A. Copinger, The Bible and its transmission, London 1897. Frontispiece: but the entire margins of this page are modern additions. - de Ricci 38.

(43) Library of Pierpont Morgan, New York. Paper. Pages in the second impression. See table. 410:297 mm. Many untrimmed paper margins. Condition very good, few evidences of use. Page headings in red missal script (in volume two often only on the recto), likewise, chapter numbers, in part with 'Ca' and other forms. Chapter beginnings only in red. The large initials with denticulated lines of red and blue combined with filling and



outer ornamentation in the manner of the Psalter initials, in red and blue, many times the bodies of the letters also only blue with red ornamentation. The initials on I, 1.5 and on II, 1 are somewhat richer.- Binding blue morocco, on the cover the ownership marks of Mark Masterson Sykes and of Henry Perkins, on the inside of the top cover the marks of Henry Huth and Pierpont Morgan. No signs of ancient provenance. In 1814 in the possession of Sir M. M. Sykes, from his sale (1829, £199 10 sh.) to H. Perkins, in whose sale (1873, £2690) to Quaritch and in his catalogue with the price of £3150 sold to Alfred H. Huth, from whose auction (Nov. 1911) for £5800 to Pierpont Morgan. - dr Ricci 9.

(44) Library of Pierpont Morgan, New York. Paper. One volume, Old Testament only (I and II, 1-189). Unique copy with pages of the third impression (I, 1.2<sup>r</sup>. 3-8.10 and 130<sup>r</sup>); I, 21-30.149-158, II, 11-16 in the second impression. 376/78: 279 mm. II, 162 and part of 182 in facsimile. At the beginning and towards the end many wormholes, also the close of the Psalter is poorly preserved; the last leaves damaged by dampness, many spotty and disfigured through writing as well as painting of the watermarks. The headings in red missal script, fully completed on every page. Chapter numbers likewise, in part with 'Cap.' and other forms. Chapter headings alternating red and blue. The large initials executed very well in different colors, the body of the letters in variably well sketched out leaves, on similarly colored



backgrounds, with white and black pen ornaments, the whole in square box-like frames. Extending from them, ornamentation between and next to the columns, mostly stretched out at length, feathered leaves, often without connections. The beginning of the Psalter and II, 1 very richly ornamented with flowers and vine work. - Binding brown morocco in Grolier style with gilt edges on background paint by William Matthews in 1885 for Theodore Irwin, in a book style box with clasps; within, the mark of Pierpont Morgan. - Leaf I, 2<sup>r</sup> the partly cut away inscription (compare Supplement volume, leaf 83); Hieronymus Oppitius Lobeduanus pastor et Superintendens Bischoffs Werdensis (Sächs. Iausitz) ... Dono dedit hoc volumen S. Bibliae Domino Melchiori Gaubisch Pastor; in Lang Wolmsdorff. Anno 1565, and leaf I, 1<sup>r</sup> (Supplement volume leaf 82) the later mark of ownership of Carolus Heinricus a Nostitz 1677. According to an earlier existing gift note, dated Preititz the 7th of April 1677, already in the possession of this man's father, Heinrich von Nostitz (died 1629) and was given to the church in Klein-Bautzen by the son. From the church, after 1874, it was sold to England for 8850 marks. In a London auction in February 1881 to Quaritch for £760, from him to Theodore Irwin of Oswego, with whose library it went to Pierpont Morgan in 1899. Information from Gottlob Ad. v. Nostitz in Neuen Anzeiger f. Bibliographie, Dresden 1874, pages 369 ff.<sup>1/</sup> Reproduction of the pages in the third impression in Supplement Volume, leaves 82-91. de Ricci 37.





(45) Private library of Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Philadelphia. Paper. 382:273 mm. Complete, with one of the blank leaves at the end of volume two. Page headings red. (Other information wanting.) - Binding now in red morroco with gilt edges and inner margins, by Mercier in Paris for Robert Hoe, previously in blue morroco, probably by Thouvenin. - At the end of each volume a notarized testamentary decree of the owner, Johannes Vlyegher, Priest and Benefactor of the Cathedral in Utrecht, dated 7th of March 1471, according to which the Bible was to go to St.-Marien-Kloster in Zuzat<sup>1/</sup> near Amersfoort; reappeared<sup>2/</sup> about 1800 in an inventory of the library of Klosters Marienbaum near Xanten, from whence it was probably illegally removed. Then in the possession of Pierre Henri Larcher (sold in 1814 for 2120 francs), to John Lloyd, Earl of Ashburnham, from whose auction in 1896 for £3000 to Quaritch (Cat. 166, 1897, page 1, no. £4000), from this to Robert Hoe in New York, in whose sale (Cat. 2, II, 1, 1912, no. 656) for \$27,000. to A. Widener (died 1915). - de Ricci 39.

#### COPIES THAT HAVE DISAPPEARED <sup>3/</sup>

(46) Mainz, Universitätsbibliothek. Vellum. According to K. A. Schaab, Geschichte der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst, Vol. 1, Mainz 1830, page 263. Carried away from Mainz in 1793 by Merlin de Thionville, and claimed by the University from the French government in vain. In 1801 offered publicly by Merlin de Thionville for fifty louis d'or, according to Thomas Fr. Dibdin,



Bibliographical Decameron I, London 1817, page 339 and Library Companion, Second edition, London 1825, page 13; in 1825 in the possession of the bookdealer Nicol in London. Possibly we have a confusion of two copies, still the identification suggested with the Nostitzchen copy (above number 41) is improbable. Possibly identical with number 19. - de Ricci 40

(47) Rebdorf, Kloster der Augustiner-Chorherren. Paper. Two volumes. Briefly described with four lines in facsimile from Genesis I, 1. in (Andr. Strauss) Monumenta typographica quae extant in bibl. Collegii Canon Regul. in Rebdorf, Eichstad, 1787, pp. 9 ff. According to this, volume 1, gathering 1 definitely and gathering 14 likely also were in the second impression. There was missing in the same volume two leaves, in case Strauss's count (322 leaves) was correct. Probably taken away by the French, with other treasures of the library. de Ricci 46.

(48) "Vente de l'abbé Favier (Lille, septembre 1765, p. 1, no. 1) 2025 francs. Sur papier. Sommaires en rouge. Relié en veau." - de Ricci 44.

(49) Gehörte Michael Maittaire (died 1747). Paper. Very incomplete. In the auction of his library sold for £ 2, 10 sh. So de Ricci under number 42. In 1741, in any case, still not in the possession of Maittaire, otherwise it would be cited in the Index of his Annales Typographia, volume 1, London 1741, page 136 with the mention of the 36 line Bible of the Harley Library.

(50) Comte Léon D'Ourches, Nancy. Paper. Beginning of the



first volume in the the first impression. "Enluminé en or et en couleurs." Original binding in wooden boards with blind tooled leather and copper clasps. Bought by a Regensburger collector for 1,000 gulden in 1808 (probably Horn); in the auction of the Bibl. D'Ourches (Paris, Decembre 1811) pp. 1-3, number 3) for 1901 francs for the bookdealer Tilliard. This according to de Ricci 49; his opinion that this copy could be identical with that at Eton College (above number 28) has much to justify it.

(51) Sir George Shuckbore was owner of a paper copy according to Thomas Fr. Dibdin, Library Companion, second edition, London 1825, page 13, whose suggestions, however, are to be taken caution. - de Ricci 52

(52) "Vente de Waucquier (Tournai, 2 juin 1763, p. 321, n. 3304) racheté. Maroquin rouge ancien, doré, tranches dorées." de Ricci 43.

(53) Anne-Thérèse-Philippine comtesse d'Yves, Brussels. Paper. Two volumes. Beginning of the first volume in the first impression. If the count of the second volume is correct (315 leaves), there must have been two leaves missing in this volume; the striking inscription in the rubric of leaf II, 1: Iheronimi prespiteri can perhaps serve for identification. Supposedly in the original binding. According to de Ricci 50 from 1800 on in the possession of the Comtesse d'Yves, d. 1814. In the auction of her library, 4. October 1819 (Description





bibliographique d'une très-belle collection ... de Mlle la Comtesse d'Yve (so !), part 1, Brussels 1819, pages 2-4, number 6) sold for 1750 francs.

FRAGMENTS 1/

(54) Augsburg, Staats-, Kreis- u. Stadtbibliothek. Vellum.

1/2 leaf - inner type column of II, 124. Headline in Lombardic letters, only red visible, likewise the chapter beginnings and numbering. Was used as the back of an incunable binding in the Hofbibliothek Eichstadt. - de Ricci 66.

(55) Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek. Vellum. 1/4 of a leaf, II, 273, from the cover of a late octavo volume from Heiligenstadt. - de Ricci 64.

(56) <sup>5</sup>Breslau, Stadtbibliothek. Vellum. 1 leaf - II, 311. 405:269/77 mm. No loss of text. Headline: Lombardic, letters red and blue alternating, beginnings of chapters likewise, numbers in red missal script. Served as binding cover for a manuscript of archival content.

(57) Dresden, Landesbibliothek. Vellum. Three leaves - II, 22, (365:210 mm., some matter cut away from the outer column) II, 26 (378:215) and 29 (365:245). Ornamentation like 56. - de Ricci 62.

(58) Freiburg I. B., Universitätsbibliothek. Paper. 24 leaves - II, 11.12 (these in the first impression). 42-50.71-80.83. 89.90. Very trimmed. 333:203 mm. Text cut off on the sides by about 1/3 to 1/2 a column. Chapter beginnings alternating red and blue,



with addition of pearling. Chapter numbers roman, the elements in the same color rotation. Large initials in red and blue. Used as waste paper in a binding. J. Rest in Zbl. f. Bibliotheksw. 38, Leipzig 1921. Pages 128 ff.

(59) Hannover. Kestner-Museum. Vellum. 1 leaf - II, 170. On the right side, trimmed close to the text. Height 351 mm. Page headings in Lombardics, letters alternating red and blue, chapter beginnings not present. From the collection of Culemann. Konrad Ernst, Die Wiegendrucke des Kestner-Museums, Leipzig, 1909. Number 109. (490).-de Ricci 61.

(60) Mainz, Gutenberg Museum. Vellum. 1/2 leaf - II, 108, lines 20-42. (132:216 mm.) and one double leaf - II, 256-57 (359:299 mm. and 367:178 mm., both with some text trimmed off). Page headings cut off, chapter beginnings alternating red and blue, likewise the elements of the roman chapter numbers, the red strokes with fine bottom strokes. The two large initials on leaf 256 with red and blue combined, with simple ornamentation, in the large 'F' arms with three arrows. Reached the Stadtbibliothek, thus the Gutenberg Museum, at various times, but originating from the same copy, apparently, used in the beginning of the eighteenth century for bill and document wrappers. - de Ricci

(61) Nuremberg, Germanisches Museum Kupferst-Kab. Schrift- u. Druckeprobe number 577. Vellum. 1 leaf - I, 227. 414:305 mm. Page headings in Lombardic script. Letters alternating in red and blue, likewise, the chapter beginnings and the elements



of the roman numbers, these with fine downstrokes. Script well preserved. Probably served for the binding of a book. - de Ricci 65. (62) Stockholm, Konigl. Bibliothek. Vellum. 17 leaves - (those numbers with an \* incomplete) I, 315.\*316. II, 83.88.111.115. \*122.\*126.129.135.136.143.148.163.166.\*167. Page headings in Lombardic letters, alternating red and blue, likewise alternating the chapter beginnings and the (roman) numbers, here, however, the entire number always red or blue, 'V' in the round form. Execution is very careful. There is no large initial. - The leaves have served as wrappers in the Reichs- und Kammerarchiv; probably from the monastery Vadstena. From the same copy about twenty-five leaves are still in the Kammerarchiv and one leaf in Statens Historiska Museum. - Isak Collijn, Kat. der Inkunabel in der Kgl. Bibl. in Stockholm, Part 1, Stockholm, 1914, page 47, (number 200); the same, Redogörelse i Kammararchivet verkst. Undersökning (Kungl. Bibliothekets Handlingar 34), Stockholm 1914. Page 68. - de Ricci 68.

(63) 's Gravenhage, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, IV B 11, number 2. Paper. Two leaves, II, 262 and 272. 373:251 mm. and 379:268 mm. Page headings and chapter numbers in red, chapter beginnings alternating red and blue, The large initials in gold and color, those of the Arguments are essentially simpler. Probably identical with the "échantillons" which Meerman possessed according to the letter of 1770 (Zbl. f. Bibliotheksw. 27. Leipzig 1910, page 159).- de Ricci 58.





(64) Strassburg, Universitätsbibliothek. One leaf. de Ricci 60

(65) Cambridge (England) University Library. Vellum. One leaf. I, 209. 415:292 mm. Page headings in Lombardic letters, alternating red and blue, likewise the elements of the roman chapter numbers and the chapter beginnings (pearled Lombardics). Was used as a wrapper. From the Collection Culemann. (Sold London, Sotheby 1870, number 171, £9 and 15 shillings). Perhaps belonged with the other Culemann leaf (above number 59), Samuel Sanders, An annotated list of books printed on vellum ... at Cambridge. (Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Octavo Publications XV), Cambridge 1878, page 15, number 1, - de Ricci 54.

(66) Dublin, Trinity College. Vellum. One leaf - II, 317. 308:248 mm. T. K. Abbott, Cat. of 15th century books in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, 1905, page 44, number 132.- de Ricci 55.

(67) London, British Museum, Bagford Collection, Sloane 1044. Vellum. 1 leaf - II, 268. 387:245 mm. Headlines and chapter numbers in red missal script, text capitals without strokes. The chapter beginnings present are both in blue with red filling and ornamentation, which runs along the columns. Large initials very rich in color and gold, but somewhat heavy, enclosing a staff running between the columns, which extends in flowers above and beneath; undoubtedly of English workmanship. (Compare above number 31). The leaf has served as the wrapper in quarto, the inscription of Duke Humphrey (17th century?) which relates



well with the former contents. - de Ricci 56.

(68) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. M. 1.2\*. Paper. Two leaves - I, 9.10. Second impression. Page headings and chapter numbers in red missal script, chapter beginnings red and blue. Russel Martineau, Notes on the Latin Bible of 42 lines, 1455, in Bibliographica II, London 1896, pages 334 ff. From the Douce Collection.

(69) New York, Grolier Club. Vellum. Two leaves - II, 293 and 293<sup>vb</sup>, from the property of George and David Wolfe Bruce. Poor fac-simile of II, 293<sup>vb</sup>, lines 20-42 by Th. L. DeVinne, The invention of printing, London, 1877, page 423 and repeated in the Description of early printed books owned by the Grolier Club, New York, 1895, pages 16 and 18, where, however, there are no additional details.

(70) Providence, John Carter Brown Library. Vellum. Two leaves - I, 157 (not determined whether of first or second impression) and II, 52 (352:300 mm., the second leaf smaller). Page headings in Lombard letters, alternating red and blue, but not well executed, likewise alternating the chapter beginnings and the (roman) numbers. - Bought in 1912 in Berlin by Paul Gottschalk.

(71) Privatbibliothek Apel, Ermlitz bei Merseburg. Paper. Four leaves - I, 141.143.144.146. The first 347:297, the rest 370:275/78 mm. Text complete, second impression. Chapter beginnings red only, chapter numbers not executed.

(72) Joseph Baer & Co., Frankfurt a. M. Kat. 500, Part 1,



(1905). Number 199. Vellum. 12 lines (19-30) from II, 238. Sold for 150 Marks. - de Ricci 63

(73) C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Aukt.-Kat. November 1913. Paper. One leaf - II, 262.

(74) Gilhofer & Ranschburg, Wien, Aukt. 33 of the 3rd and 4th of April 1911. Paper. (330:210 mm. = II, 121-130.132.-140 = quires 13 and 14 with omission of the first leaves of quire 14, which contains the beginnings of the Book of Daniel. The leaves are cut down for use as inlays of a pasteboard binding, with more or less loss of text on the left (to 30 mm.). Page headings (only traces visible), chapter beginnings and chapter numbers (roman, with 'V' in the round form) throughout red only, but numbers and initials not entered consistently. Capitals without strokes. The leaves have been sold one by one and are now mostly in private hands. II, 140 described by Joseph Baer & Company in the Frankfurter Bücherfreund 13, Frankf. a. M. 1919/20. Heft 1, page 291, number 609.

(75) Paul Gottschalk, Antiqua., Berlin. Paper. One leaf - I, 20 (first impression). 368:298 mm. Upper and side margins with press punctures preserved. Headline and chapter numbers not executed. Capitals without strokes, chapter beginnings only in red. Numerous accents show that the copy had been used for public reading. Picture of the verso in Paul Gottschalk, Die Buchkunst Gutenbergs und Schoeffers, Berlin 1918. Table 1. Sold.

(76) C. G. Gunther (d.) Chicago, is supposed to have owned a



large fragment of the Bible (in the Book Bulletin of the Chicago Public Library, Vol. 3, 1913, page 49, there was even talk of a complete copy). However, nothing of this is now to be found in his literary remains, which are in the Chicago Historical Society.

(77) Auktion Heinr. Klemm, Dresden, see Zahn and Jaensch. Aukt. 13, 1889, page 12, number 152. Vellum. One leaf from volume 2 (Apocalypse). Used as a wrapper, dirty and trimmed with some loss of text. - de Ricci 71.

(78) In Mainz, in private possession. Paper. One leaf - I, 120. Headline red and blue, chapter number riman.

(79) Dr. Charles L. Nichols, Worcester, Mass. One leaf, listed in the Census of Fifteenth Century Books in America. New York, 1919. Page 43.

(80) Bern. Quaritch, London, Kat. 305, April 1911, number 205. Paper. One leaf - I, 8, not determined if of first or second impression. In the collection of leaves from celebrated presses of the 15th and 16th centuries, which since 1867 have passed through different English auctions, the last Sotheby's 16 June 1910. Sold again by Quaritch. - de Ricci 70.

(81) Graf Alexis Razumovski, Moskau (died 1822) possessed a fragment according to (Gotth. Fischer v. Maldheim) Notice des monumentes typographiques qui se trouvent dans la bibliothèque de M. le Comte Alexis Razoumoffsky, Moscou 1810, page 7, number 1, unfortunately without any further description. - de Ricci 69.





(82) Jacques Rosenthal, Antiqu., München. Vellum. Four leaves - I, 24-27. (First impression). 361:243 mm. Headlines in red Lombardics, chapter numbers and beginnings in red. The first three leaves sold. - de Ricci 67.

(83) The same. Paper. One leaf, I, 8 (second impression). Page headings and chapter numbers in red missal script. Chapter beginnings alternating red and blue on red ornamented ground.

Does it belong to number 68?

(84) Ludwig Rosenthal, Antiquariat, München, possessed in 1918. Two leaves. Sold.

(85) Auktion Franz Trau, Vienna, 27/28 October 1905, page 57, number 211. Vellum. One leaf - I, 29. Not determined if of the first or second impression. Large initials executed in colors, with vine borders. For 1640 kr. to Armin Egger, then in the possession of the Comtesse de Bearn, Paris. - de Ricci 57.

(End of the census)

If we draw statistical results from the information under 1 - 85, there are twelve more or less complete copies on vellum. Add to this fragments in sixteen places, from which at least six, probably even more copies may be deduced (the lost number 48 is better deemed uncertain). On paper we know that there are preserved thirty-three copies, and at least five lost. From the fragments, we dare assume with great care not more than six to 8 copies. This provides a certain proof of eighteen vellum copies and forty-four paper copies. We will return to these



numbers later in the discussion of the size of the edition.

As soon as one begins to busy oneself making comparisons with the copies of our Bible printings, one sees that all do not correspond fully in composition. This must strike one especially on the first few leaves, the differences in the line count and the treatment of the rubrics, in most copies 40-41-42 lines and printed rubrics, on the others uniformly 42 lines and the handwritten work of the rubricators. However, in the unmethodical manner of the older Gutenberg study, the extent of these compositional variations remained unknown for a long time and their relationships to one another unclear. Also, more exhaustive comparisons of individual copies by Laire,<sup>1/</sup> Bernhart,<sup>2/</sup> and Stübel<sup>3/</sup> brought neither the one nor the other question to solution. First Martineau<sup>4/</sup> had understood this almost completely, through bringing together larger numbers of copies, the enlargement [of the edition] in the twice set-up places, unfortunately without seeing the time relationship of the two impressions had been determined before him by Dziatzko<sup>5/</sup> in another and correct sense. I have now been able to discover some more pages of the second impression and one more completely unique piece of a third impression. Now we are placing next to the complete reprint of the first impression in the two volumes of the facsimile edition all the variations based wholly on the new set-ups in the supplement volume to facilitate comparison. The main part of this latter forms the great sup-



| Lage.                               | 1 <sup>a</sup> | 1 <sup>b</sup> | 1 <sup>c</sup> | 1 <sup>d</sup> | 1 <sup>e</sup> | 1 <sup>f</sup> | 1 <sup>g</sup> | 11 <sup>a</sup> | 11 <sup>b</sup> | 11 <sup>c</sup> | Bemerkungen                                                                                       |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Blatt:                              | 1-10           | 11-20          | 21-30          | 31-40          | 41-50          | 51-60          | 61-70          | 1-10            | 11/14<br>15/16  | 162             |                                                                                                   |
| 1. Aschaffenburg . . . . .          | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1               | 1               | Unvollständige<br>Lagen sind nach der<br>Zugehörigkeit der<br>vorhandenen Blätter<br>eingeordnet. |
| 2. Berlin . . . . .                 | 1              | 1              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 1               | 2               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 3. Frankfurt . . . . .              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 4. Fulda . . . . .                  | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | —               | —               | —               |                                                                                                   |
| 5. Göttingen . . . . .              | 2              | 2              | 1              | 1              | 2              | 1              | 1              | 2               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 6. Laubach . . . . .                | —              | —              | —              | —              | —              | —              | —              | 1               | 1 2             | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 7. Leipzig, U.-B., Perg. . . . .    | 2              | 2              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 8. " " Pap. . . . .                 | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 9. " Buch-Mus. . . . .              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1               | 2               |                                                                                                   |
| 10. Melk . . . . .                  | 1              | 1              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 1               | 1 2             | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 11. München . . . . .               | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 12. St. Paul . . . . .              | 1              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 1              | 2              | 2              | 1               | 1               | 2               |                                                                                                   |
| 13. Trier, 1. Ex. . . . .           | 2              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | —               | —               | —               |                                                                                                   |
| 14. " 2. Ex. . . . .                | —              | —              | —              | —              | —              | —              | —              | 1               | —               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 15. Wien . . . . .                  | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 1               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 16. Pelplin . . . . .               | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1 2             | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 17. St. Petersburg . . . . .        | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 2               | 2               | 2               |                                                                                                   |
| 18. Kopenhagen . . . . .            | —              | —              | —              | —              | —              | —              | —              | 1               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 19. Rom . . . . .                   | 2              | 1              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2               | 2               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 20. Lissabon . . . . .              | 2              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 2               | 2               | 2               |                                                                                                   |
| 21. Burgos . . . . .                | ?              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 1               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 22. Paris, B. Nat., Perg. . . . .   | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 23. " " Pap. . . . .                | —              | —              | —              | —              | 1              | —              | 1              | —               | —               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 24. " B. Mazarine . . . . .         | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 25. St. Omer . . . . .              | 1              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2 u. 1*        | 2              | 2              | —               | —               | —               | * 129/38: 14<br>130/37: 2                                                                         |
| 26. Edinburgh . . . . .             | 1              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2               | 2               | 2               |                                                                                                   |
| 27. Eton . . . . .                  | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 28. London, Br. Mus., Perg. . . . . | 2              | 2              | 2              | 1              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2               | 2               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 29. " " Pap. . . . .                | 2              | 2              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 30. Manchester . . . . .            | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 31. Oxford . . . . .                | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 32. C. W. D. Perrins . . . . .      | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | —               | —               | —               |                                                                                                   |
| 33. Proby (Elton Hall) . . . . .    | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 2               | 2               | 2               |                                                                                                   |
| 34. Young . . . . .                 | 1              | 1              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 1              | 1               | 1 2             | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 35. Sabin . . . . .                 | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 36. New York, Publ. L. . . . .      | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 1              | 2              | 1              | 2               | 2               | 2               |                                                                                                   |
| 37. " Theol. Sem. . . . .           | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 38. Ellsworth . . . . .             | 2              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 39. Huntington . . . . .            | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1 2             | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 40. P. Morgan, Perg. . . . .        | 1              | 1 u. 2*        | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2              | 2               | 2               | 1               | * 2 nur Bl. 13/16                                                                                 |
| 41. " Pap. I. . . . .               | 2              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 2               | 1 2             | 2               |                                                                                                   |
| 42. " Pap. II. . . . .              | 3 u. 1*        | 1              | 2              | 1              | 1 u. 3*        | 1              | 2              | 1               | 2               | —               | * s. S. 242. b u<br>Anm                                                                           |
| 43. Widener . . . . .               | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1              | 1               | 1               | 1               |                                                                                                   |
| 44. Rebendorf . . . . .             | 2              | ?              | ?              | ?              | 2              | ?              | ?              | ?               | ?               | ?               |                                                                                                   |
| 45. Yves . . . . .                  | 1              | ?              | ?              | ?              | ?              | ?              | ?              | ?               | ?               | ?               |                                                                                                   |
| 46. Freiburg . . . . .              | —              | 1              | —              | —              | —              | —              | —              | —               | —               | —               |                                                                                                   |
| 47. Oxford, Fragm. . . . .          | 2              | —              | —              | —              | —              | —              | —              | —               | —               | —               |                                                                                                   |
| 48. Apel . . . . .                  | —              | —              | —              | —              | —              | 2              | —              | —               | —               | —               |                                                                                                   |
| 49. Gottschalk . . . . .            | —              | 1              | —              | —              | —              | —              | —              | —               | —               | —               |                                                                                                   |
| 50. J. Rosenthal, Perg. . . . .     | —              | —              | 1              | —              | —              | —              | —              | —               | —               | —               |                                                                                                   |





plementary printing which became necessary when in the course of the work the undertakers decided on an essential increase in the edition. It includes leaves I, 1-32<sup>r</sup>.129-58, II, 1-16<sup>r</sup>.162<sup>r</sup>, 1/ and provides us at the same time a valuable look into the division and progress of the work.

So far as the new printing consisted of entire quires, it appears in the existing copies almost exclusively confined to such: two variations, look in the tables opposite under numbers 26 and 42. Somewhat more numerous are the cases of mixing in the second quire of the second volume, in which only the first eleven pages (5 and 1/2 leaves) are newly set. Quite by itself stands the case of the second paper copy belonging to Pierpont Morgan (number 44) in which two quires (I, quires 1 and 14) only partly printed in the first printing have been completed through a new impression first after the large supplementary printing.<sup>2/</sup> Otherwise, the quires, indifferently whether they contain the first or second printing, have been treated without distinction in assembling the copies of the Bible. As a result, of the thirty-three essentially complete existing copies for which information is at hand, only twelve are completely of the first impression, the rest are mixed in the most varied combinations of the quires of the first and second impression, no single one includes in itself all the later impressions. The table herewith gives a survey of the relationships of the copies of which we have information to the



to the two printings and make it possible at the same time to determine their numerical relationships approximately at least.

In addition to these supplementary impressions, there are some isolated new impressions which appear only in one or a few copies, whose appearance, therefore, is to be ascribed probably to other chance circumstances: I, 34<sup>r</sup> and <sup>v</sup> (Supplement volume leaf 33) and I, 261<sup>r</sup> (Supplement volume leaf number 81<sup>v</sup>), these two only in the Berlin copy.<sup>1/</sup> so also II, 22<sup>r</sup> (Supplement volume leaf number 89<sup>r</sup>) in copies 17.27.28.35. Possibly one or the other pages so printed have evaded identification. An alteration that simply developed during the printing is found on page I, 52<sup>r</sup> reproduced on leaf 81<sup>r</sup>,<sup>2/</sup> Such alterations also appear here and there, but only very rarely and not so frequently as in many of the other earliest printings.

For orientation in the comparison of the supplementary volume with the first printing and for identification perhaps of newly appearing copies and fragments, it becomes not unnecessary to repeat here, completed and improved, the list of indicators for the several pages as set up which I have given earlier in the Berlin Gutenbergfestschrift of 1900. I have selected, so far as possible, easy to find words, mostly from the frontside of the leaves. Where the backside contains no new printing, it is especially noted.

With the recognition that the 40 line impression on I, 1 ff. and 129 ff. is the earlier, we have the key to under-



Identification signs of  
the several settings 1/

| Band I   |                         |                                                |                 |
|----------|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Bl.      | 1. Druck                | a. bzw. 3. Druck                               | 2. Druck        |
|          |                         | 42 Zeilen                                      |                 |
|          | 1 a 42                  | urbem tantam                                   | urbē tantam     |
|          | 1' a 2                  | laudantibus                                    | laudantibus     |
|          | 2 b 8                   | hoc                                            | hoc             |
|          | 27                      | 42 Zeilen                                      | kein Neusatz    |
|          | 3 a 42                  | in terra                                       | in ira          |
|          | 3' a 42                 | interpretat                                    | inipretat       |
|          | 4 a 5                   | verba                                          | verba           |
|          | 4' a 1                  | provocavit                                     | provocavit      |
|          | 40/41 Zeilen            | 42 Zeilen                                      |                 |
|          | 5 a 42                  | luculent... terrā                              | lucēt... terram |
|          | 5' a 2                  | et / natus                                     | et = / natus    |
| 1 a 2    | Cumq3                   | Cumq3                                          | Cūq3            |
| 1' b 10  | postquam                | postquā                                        | postq3          |
| 1 b 30   | amē... terre            | amē... terre                                   | amē tre         |
| 1' b 5   | quas operat             | qs operuerat                                   | qs operuerat    |
| 1 b 34   | in nubib3               | in nubib3                                      | in nubib4       |
| 1' a 9   | suis foris              | sui4 fora4                                     | suis foras      |
| 1 b 42   | sarai uxore             | abram: cū                                      | kein Neusatz    |
| 1' a 1   | suā... et leth          | egredere de                                    | "               |
| 10 a 33  | mesphat                 | mesphat                                        | mesphat         |
| 10' a 27 | gites otra              | partis (!) otra                                | partes cō = tra |
|          |                         | 2. (130 a 1 auch 3.) Druck                     |                 |
| 11 a 9   | Peperitq3               | Peperitq3                                      |                 |
| 12 a 8   | Sodomā                  | Sodomā (!)                                     |                 |
| 13 a 1   | velamen oculor3         | velamē oculorū                                 |                 |
| 14 a 3   | filiorum                | filiorū                                        |                 |
| 15 a 7   | itinē                   | itinere:                                       |                 |
| 16 a 3   | z in = /                | et in = /                                      |                 |
| 17 a 2   | benedicas... / Cumq3    | henedicas, Cumq3                               |                 |
| 18 a 5   | concepit                | cōcepit                                        |                 |
| 19 a 1   | mesopotamia             | mesopotamia                                    |                 |
| 20 a 1   | superare                | superare                                       |                 |
| 21 a 3   | Cumq3                   | Cumq3                                          |                 |
| 22 b 1   | est i                   | est in                                         |                 |
| 23 a 1   | egiptus                 | egiptus                                        |                 |
| 24 b 42  | Nā et                   | Nā et                                          |                 |
| 25 b 2   | osequēter               | osequēter                                      |                 |
| 26 a 4   | loquimur                | loquimur                                       |                 |
| 27 a 1   | phua... z               | phua... et                                     |                 |
| 28 a 3   | passus                  | passus                                         |                 |
| 29 a 3   | passus                  | passus                                         |                 |
| 30 a 2   | comburat rubus          | comburat rub9                                  |                 |
| 31 a 2   | conficiēdas             | cōficiēdas                                     |                 |
| 32 a 2   | hac scies qd            | hac scies q,                                   |                 |
|          | 32' ohne Variante       |                                                |                 |
| 34 a 42  | agnus                   | agn9                                           |                 |
| 34' a 1  | generatione             | generationes                                   |                 |
| 129      | 40 Zeilen               | 2. Druck 42 Zeilen                             |                 |
| 130 a 1  | autē nō erās liberi. Et | { 2: liberi. Et<br>3: autē non erāt liberi. Et |                 |
| 130'-131 | 40 Zeilen               | { 2. Druck                                     |                 |
| 132      | 40/42 Zeilen            | { 42 Zeilen                                    |                 |

| Bl.      | 1. Druck                 | 2. Druck              |
|----------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 133 a 3  | caria = / thiarim        | caria = / iarim       |
| 134 a 2  | de terra benjamin        | de terra benjamin     |
| 135 a 2  | in iabes                 | i iabes               |
| 136 a 2  | benjamin                 | benjamin              |
| 137 a 4  | yonatha                  | ionatha               |
| 138 a 42 | sps                      | sps                   |
| 139 a 8  | refiste... ad = / uersus | refistere... / adūsus |
| 140 a 4  | sum paup                 | sū pauper             |
| 141 b 1  | yonathas                 | ionathas              |
| 142 b 41 | dauid... respōden        | dauid... respōdens    |
| 143 b 3  | occiderem                | occidere              |
| 144 b 39 | falchi                   | falchi                |
| 145 a 1  | xpm                      | crisū                 |
| 146 b 41 | vespam                   | vesperā               |
| 147 a 42 | eius et sup              | eius z super          |
| 148 a 3  | desperatio               | desperatio            |
| 149 a 1  | effcūs                   | effect9               |
| 150 a 42 | nūc                      | nūc                   |
| 151 a 1  | sarai4                   | sarais                |
| 152 a 1  | exadūso                  | ex adūsō              |
| 153 b 3  | hostiū                   | ostium                |
| 154 b 2  | decorus... vestigio      | decorus... vestigio   |
| 155 a 7  | pedibus                  | pedib3                |
| 156 a 1  | ppl's                    | ppl'us                |
| 157 b 1  | et nō... rege            | z nō... regem         |
| 158 b 1  | omnis ppl's              | omīs ppl'us           |
| *261 a 1 | pref = / biter           | presbi = / ter        |

## Band II

|         |                  |                  |
|---------|------------------|------------------|
| 1 b 3   | emēdatā          | emendatā         |
| 2 b 41  | da pauperib3     | da paperib3      |
| 3 b 8   | trāsīt           | transit          |
| 4 b 37  | abominacio       | abominatio       |
| 5 a 41  | habeat... multi  | habeat... multis |
| 6 a 2   | Omnes            | Omes             |
| 7 a 4   | opa dissipātis   | opera dissipātis |
| 8 a 7   | paupis           | pauperis         |
| 9 a 1   | doctus           | doct9            |
| 10 a 10 | correctō         | correctio        |
| 11 a 3  | Abominanī        | Abominanī        |
| 12 a 42 | boni             | bonis            |
| 13 a 2  | in ope           | i opere          |
| 14 a 42 | in ope           | i opere          |
| 15 b 1  | ml'tis           | ml'tis           |
| 16 a 5  | capree hynnuloq3 | capre hynnuloq3  |

## 16' ohne Variante

|         |              |              |
|---------|--------------|--------------|
| *22 b 3 | z in         | et in        |
| 162 a 3 | (M)achabeorū | (M)Achabeorū |

1. In the key to places, the first number indicates the leaf, without addition, the recto side, a and b indicate the columns, the last number the line.





## Watermarks of the Bible impressions

## Band I

| Lage:<br>Blatt: | 1—3<br>1—30                           | 4—8<br>31—80                   | 9<br>81—90                                                                 | 10<br>91—101                              | 11—12<br>102—121                                                                                | 13<br>122—128                           | 14<br>129—138                                          | 15—16<br>139—158             |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Zeichen:        | 1. Dr. nur a<br>2. Dr. nur d<br><br>A | nur a                          | 6 aaaaa<br>6 aaaa c<br>5 aaaba<br>3 aabaa<br>1 aabba<br>1 aabac<br>1 aabbc | 23 aabbc<br>1 aabac<br>+ 8a<br>3b<br>1c   | nur a<br><br>A <sup>a</sup>                                                                     | 24 aaa<br>+ 9a<br>1b                    | 1. Dr. nur a<br>2. Dr.:<br>3 aabdd<br>1 babdd<br><br>B | 1. Dr. nur a<br>2. Dr. nur d |
| Lage:<br>Blatt: | 17—21<br>159—208                      | 22<br>209—218                  | 23<br>219—228                                                              | 24<br>229—238                             | 25<br>239—249                                                                                   | 26<br>250—260                           | 27—29<br>261—290                                       |                              |
| Zeichen:        | nur a                                 | 22 aabbc<br>1 abbbc<br>1 abbcc | 20 aabbc<br>2 aabac<br>1 aabc                                              | 21 aabbc<br>1 abbbc<br>1 babbc<br>1 aabbb | 20 aabbb<br>1 aaaa b<br>1 aaaa<br>+ 7b<br>3a<br>1c                                              | 19 aabbb<br>5 aaaba<br>+ 6b<br>1a<br>1c | nur a<br><br>B <sup>a</sup>                            |                              |
| Lage:<br>Blatt: | 30<br>291—300                         | 31<br>301—310                  | 32<br>311—320                                                              | 33<br>321—324                             | Einzelblätter am Falz sind 99, 126, 246, 259<br>Single leaves on folds<br>are 99, 126, 259, 246 |                                         |                                                        |                              |
| Zeichen:        | 23 aabbc<br>1 aabcc<br>1 abbbba       | 23 aabbc<br>1 aabac<br>1 aabba | 24 aabbc<br>1 aabcc                                                        | 26 aa                                     |                                                                                                 |                                         |                                                        |                              |

## Band II

| Lage:<br>Blatt: | 1<br>1—10                             | 2—7<br>11—70                              | 8<br>71—80                                    | 9<br>81—90                                                              | 10<br>91—100                                                                                                                                | 11<br>101—110                             | 12<br>111—120                                                                         | 13<br>121—130                   |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Zeichen:        | 1. Dr. nur a<br>2. Dr. nur d<br><br>C | nur a                                     | 19 aabbc<br>3 aabcc<br>2 aabba<br>1 aabbb     | 8 aacc<br>7 aabc<br>6 aabcc<br>1 aabbc<br>1 aaaca<br>1 aabba<br>1 aabaa | 24 aabbc<br>1 aabcc                                                                                                                         | 22 aabbb<br>1 aaaa b<br>1 aaaa c          | 24 ddddd                                                                              | 21 ddddd<br>1 adddd             |
| Lage:<br>Blatt: | 14<br>131—140                         | 15<br>141—150                             | 16<br>151—161                                 | 17—21<br>162—211                                                        | 22<br>212—221                                                                                                                               | 23<br>222—231                             | 24<br>232—241                                                                         | 25<br>242—251                   |
| Zeichen:        | 25 aabbc                              | 22 aabbc<br>1 aabcc<br>1 aabac<br>1 aabba | 22 aabbb<br>1 aabba<br>1 aaaa b<br>+ 7c<br>3b | nur a<br><br>D                                                          | 19 aabbc<br>3 aabc<br>1 aabcc                                                                                                               | 19 aabbc<br>2 aabac<br>2 aabcc<br>1 aabcc | 16 aabbb<br>4 aabbc<br>1 abbbb<br>1 aabbb<br>1 babbb<br>1 aabab                       | 21 aabbb<br>2 aabba<br>1 aaaa b |
| Lage:<br>Blatt: | 26<br>252—261                         | 27<br>262—273                             | 28<br>274—284                                 | 29<br>285—294                                                           | 30<br>295—304                                                                                                                               | 31<br>305—309                             | 32<br>310—319                                                                         | Tab. Rubricarum                 |
| Zeichen:        | 24 dddbb                              | 14 aabba<br>8 aabbbb<br>2 aaaa ba         | 23 dddbb<br>1 ddd/abb<br>+ 4b<br>3d<br>1a     | 21 aabbb<br>2 aabbc<br>1 aaaa                                           | 5 aaaa b<br>3 aaaa<br>3 aaaa d<br>2 aadab<br>2 aabba<br>1 aabbb<br>1 aada<br>1 aadda<br>1 adaad<br>1 daaba<br>1 daaaa<br>1 daada<br>1 dadaa | 22 dd<br>+ 1a<br>3b<br>1c<br>3d           | 3 aabbb<br>2 adabb<br>1 aabbb<br>1 daabb<br>1 dadbb<br>1 ddabb<br>1 aaaa b<br>1 ddabd | 2 ad                            |

Einzelblätter am Falz sind 161, 281, 308.

Single leaves on folds  
are 161, 281, 308





standing the printing of the Bible. At these two divisions, the work must have commenced. Not entirely at the same time, for the transition to 42 lines is completed in Division A on leaf 6<sup>r</sup> after an attempt with 41 lines on 5<sup>v</sup>, without such an inter-step on 132<sup>v</sup>, that is 4<sup>v</sup> of the Division. The difference of three pages, in which B here remained behind A, we find again at the end of the supplementary printing (leaf 32<sup>r</sup> and 138<sup>v</sup> which is 30<sup>v</sup> of B) that is, at the introduction of the increased edition on the following page. Up to then, the work of A and B thus had been carried forward quite uniformly. Meanwhile, work had started in two other places, II, 1 (Proverbs of Solomon) and 162 (Maccabees), sections C and D, here again not at the same time, but with even greater difference. For in C the new edition started at 16<sup>v</sup> and in D it occurred nearly at the same time as the commencement of the section, so that here a new impression was needed for only one page, 162<sup>r</sup>. C thus stood about 16 and D about 31 leaves behind A.

For the further course of the work there are no such obvious comparison points as the transition to the 42 line settings and to the enlarged edition. Therefore, we seek information here - of this Dziatzko had again first taken notice - through the division of the quires in which the vellum and paper copies agree throughout, and through the observation of the watermarks in the latter.

In general, the Bible printing consisted of five double



leaved sheets. This rule suffers exception not only at the close of the four specified large sections, but also in some other places, which are recognized from this as the ends of special printing divisions. Thus it is noteworthy that, when in deviation from the regular quire endings with the end of a book, a portion of the leaf remains unprinted, while usually only strictly necessary space for the rubrication was left between the books.<sup>1/</sup> Such irregularities are visible at:-

Vol. 1, Quire 10: 11 leaves=91-101. End of Deuteronomy

Quire 13: 7 leaves = 122-128. End of large division A

Quires 25 and 26; each 11 leaves = 239-249.250.260.  
End of Esdras

Quire 33: 4 leaves = 321-324. End of large section  
B and of the volume.

Vol. 2 Quire 13: full quire but at the end (130<sup>V</sup>, end of  
Ezekiel) 13 lines unprinted

Quire 16: 11 leaves = 151-161. End of large section C

Quire 27: 12 leaves = 262-273. 273<sup>V</sup> unprinted. End of  
Ep. to the Colossians

Quire 28: 11 leaves = 274-284. End of the Epistle to  
the Hebrews.

Quire 31: 5 leaves = 305-309. 309<sup>V</sup> unprinted. End of  
Epistle to Jude.

Quire 32: 8 leaves = 310-317. Apocalypse.

These sections permit us to assume, in addition to the four large sections, six sub-sections, and are verified and supplemented by observation of the watermarks. For the printing of the Bible



there was procured, or at least contractually assured, in addition to the vellum, an excellent white paper of the largest size, in a quantity which, presumably, according to the calculations of the time, would meet the entire need without the increase of the edition later adopted. It bore the watermark of an ox's head with stem and star (pictured on the next page) in at least three somewhat different forms, but without observable difference in quality.<sup>1/</sup> It is self-evident that in the procurement of such a previously unheard of quantity, several vat frames were used which did not precisely agree in the outline of the marks. More than this amount, the paper mills could not very well furnish in spite of their obviously really large capacity for production. It was necessary, therefore, especially after the increase of the edition, that some other kind of paper be procured of which the two first (b and c) especially differ in strength and appearance a little from a. Their marks are:

b. a long branch of grapes on a stalk formed as a curved circle (two somewhat different executions).

c. a bunch of grapes of more compact form on a short stalk.

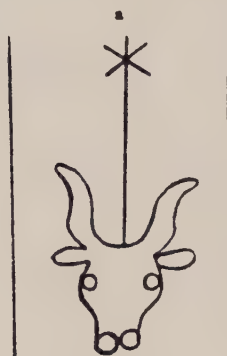
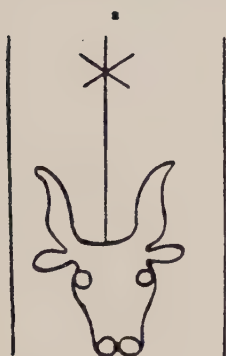
d. a running ox.

On account of their quality, in order not to disturb the unity of the work, b and c were not used independently, but were employed as mixed leaves of a gathering.<sup>2/</sup> In contrast, d appeared as a fully worthy substitute for the exhausted stock of a.





DIE GUTENBERGHEBEL.  
Watermarks  
WASSERZEICHEN





I am giving next, on page <sup>696</sup>, a survey of the identified watermarks in the sequence of gatherings in the complete volumes according to examination of twenty-seven copies, in most cases on the basis of my own studies, in some according to the friendly communications of the administrations of the libraries. For the sake of brevity, in the combinations only the count of instances is given, the single exemplars are not named. If the total of the numbers varies and also never attains the height of twenty-seven, this is due to the incompleteness of many copies (there lack whole volumes, large sections, and single leaves) or on the uncertainty of the counting. In the cases of half sheets laid in folds, indicated by +, understandably, the watermark is missing frequently; here we can only include the visible marks in the number of occurrences. In a statistical sense, we may, however, count these marked sheets as complete, because an equal number of unmarked sheets have been lost. Such reckoning indicates that in an exemplar consisting entirely of gatherings from the first printing, of the 322 (exactly counted 321 and 1/2 sheets), there are, on the average, 235 on a, 51 on b, 16 on c and 20 on d. The needs of the reprints were covered almost exclusively from d, and the Tabula Rubricarum show in both of the existing copies the watermarks a and d.

In spite of the apparent variety in the assembling of the gatherings, the combinations with the high frequency numbers appear so much more often that the remaining cases almost



## DIE GUTENBERGBIBEL

Synchronistic survey of the utilization of the paper sorts

|   |                                                                           |                                    |                                    |                                                      |                                    |                                    |                                                          |                                    |                                                   |                                                             |                                                                   |                                            |                                                            |                                    |                                                            |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |               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| A | 1 <sup>1</sup><br>1-10<br>aaaa<br>Hieron.<br>Ep. etc.<br>6 <sup>1</sup> f | 1 <sup>2</sup><br>11-20<br>aaaa    | 1 <sup>3</sup><br>21-30<br>aaaa    | 1 <sup>4</sup><br>31-40<br>aaaa<br>32 <sup>1</sup> 2 | 1 <sup>5</sup><br>41-50<br>aaaa    | 1 <sup>6</sup><br>51-60<br>aaaa    | 1 <sup>7</sup><br>61-70<br>aaaa                          | 1 <sup>8</sup><br>71-80<br>aaaa    | 1 <sup>9</sup><br>81-90<br>aa<br>ba<br>aaa<br>uw. | 1 <sup>10</sup><br>91-101<br>abbc<br>+a-uw.<br>Deuterom. II | D <sup>1</sup> 11 <sup>10</sup><br>185-194<br>aaaa<br>Acta Apost. | 11 <sup>10</sup><br>195-194<br>aaaa<br>uw. | 11 <sup>11</sup><br>195-194<br>dd<br>+b, d...<br>Ep. Judae | Ergänzungsdrucke                   |                                                            |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                                           |                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                              |                                              |                                              |                                              |                                              |                                              |
|   |                                                                           | 1 <sup>11</sup><br>109-118<br>aaaa | 1 <sup>12</sup><br>119-128<br>aaaa | 1 <sup>13</sup><br>129-138<br>aaaa                   | 1 <sup>14</sup><br>139-148<br>aaaa | 1 <sup>15</sup><br>149-158<br>aaaa | 1 <sup>16</sup><br>159-168<br>aaaa<br>159 <sup>1</sup> 2 | 1 <sup>17</sup><br>169-178<br>aaaa | 1 <sup>18</sup><br>179-188<br>aaaa                | 1 <sup>19</sup><br>189-198<br>aaaa                          | 1 <sup>20</sup><br>199-208<br>aaaa                                | 1 <sup>21</sup><br>209-218<br>abbc         | 1 <sup>22</sup><br>219-228<br>abbc                         | 1 <sup>23</sup><br>229-238<br>abbc | 1 <sup>24</sup><br>239-248<br>abbc<br>+b, a, c<br>Esdras I | 1 <sup>25</sup><br>249-258<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>26</sup><br>259-268<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>27</sup><br>269-278<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>28</sup><br>279-288<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>29</sup><br>289-298<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>30</sup><br>299-308<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>31</sup><br>309-318<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>32</sup><br>319-328<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>33</sup><br>329-338<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>34</sup><br>339-348<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>35</sup><br>349-358<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>36</sup><br>359-368<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>37</sup><br>369-378<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>38</sup><br>379-388<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>39</sup><br>389-398<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>40</sup><br>399-408<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>41</sup><br>409-418<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>42</sup><br>419-428<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>43</sup><br>429-438<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>44</sup><br>439-448<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>45</sup><br>449-458<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>46</sup><br>459-468<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>47</sup><br>469-478<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>48</sup><br>479-488<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>49</sup><br>489-498<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>50</sup><br>499-508<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>51</sup><br>509-518<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>52</sup><br>519-528<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>53</sup><br>529-538<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>54</sup><br>539-548<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>55</sup><br>549-558<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>56</sup><br>559-568<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>57</sup><br>569-578<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>58</sup><br>579-588<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>59</sup><br>589-598<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>60</sup><br>599-608<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>61</sup><br>609-618<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>62</sup><br>619-628<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>63</sup><br>629-638<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>64</sup><br>639-648<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>65</sup><br>649-658<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>66</sup><br>659-668<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>67</sup><br>669-678<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>68</sup><br>679-688<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>69</sup><br>689-698<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>70</sup><br>699-708<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>71</sup><br>709-718<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>72</sup><br>719-728<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>73</sup><br>729-738<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>74</sup><br>739-748<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>75</sup><br>749-758<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>76</sup><br>759-768<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>77</sup><br>769-778<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>78</sup><br>779-788<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>79</sup><br>789-798<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>80</sup><br>799-808<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>81</sup><br>809-818<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>82</sup><br>819-828<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>83</sup><br>829-838<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>84</sup><br>839-848<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>85</sup><br>849-858<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>86</sup><br>859-868<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>87</sup><br>869-878<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>88</sup><br>879-888<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>89</sup><br>889-898<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>90</sup><br>899-908<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>91</sup><br>909-918<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>92</sup><br>919-928<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>93</sup><br>929-938<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>94</sup><br>939-948<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>95</sup><br>949-958<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>96</sup><br>959-968<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>97</sup><br>969-978<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>98</sup><br>979-988<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>99</sup><br>989-998<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>100</sup><br>999-1008<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>101</sup><br>1009-1018<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>102</sup><br>1019-1028<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>103</sup><br>1029-1038<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>104</sup><br>1039-1048<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>105</sup><br>1049-1058<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>106</sup><br>1059-1068<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>107</sup><br>1069-1078<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>108</sup><br>1079-1088<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>109</sup><br>1089-1098<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>110</sup><br>1099-1108<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>111</sup><br>1109-1118<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>112</sup><br>1119-1128<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>113</sup><br>1129-1138<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>114</sup><br>1139-1148<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>115</sup><br>1149-1158<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>116</sup><br>1159-1168<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>117</sup><br>1169-1178<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>118</sup><br>1179-1188<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>119</sup><br>1189-1198<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>120</sup><br>1199-1208<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>121</sup><br>1209-1218<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>122</sup><br>1219-1228<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>123</sup><br>1229-1238<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>124</sup><br>1239-1248<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>125</sup><br>1249-1258<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>126</sup><br>1259-1268<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>127</sup><br>1269-1278<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>128</sup><br>1279-1288<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>129</sup><br>1289-1298<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>130</sup><br>1299-1308<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>131</sup><br>1309-1318<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>132</sup><br>1319-1328<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>133</sup><br>1329-1338<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>134</sup><br>1339-1348<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>135</sup><br>1349-1358<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>136</sup><br>1359-1368<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>137</sup><br>1369-1378<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>138</sup><br>1379-1388<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>139</sup><br>1389-1398<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>140</sup><br>1399-1408<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>141</sup><br>1409-1418<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>142</sup><br>1419-1428<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>143</sup><br>1429-1438<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>144</sup><br>1439-1448<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>145</sup><br>1449-1458<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>146</sup><br>1459-1468<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>147</sup><br>1469-1478<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>148</sup><br>1479-1488<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>149</sup><br>1489-1498<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>150</sup><br>1499-1508<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>151</sup><br>1509-1518<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>152</sup><br>1519-1528<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>153</sup><br>1529-1538<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>154</sup><br>1539-1548<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>155</sup><br>1549-1558<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>156</sup><br>1559-1568<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>157</sup><br>1569-1578<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>158</sup><br>1579-1588<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>159</sup><br>1589-1598<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>160</sup><br>1599-1608<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>161</sup><br>1609-1618<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>162</sup><br>1619-1628<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>163</sup><br>1629-1638<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>164</sup><br>1639-1648<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>165</sup><br>1649-1658<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>166</sup><br>1659-1668<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>167</sup><br>1669-1678<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>168</sup><br>1679-1688<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>169</sup><br>1689-1698<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>170</sup><br>1699-1708<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>171</sup><br>1709-1718<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>172</sup><br>1719-1728<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>173</sup><br>1729-1738<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>174</sup><br>1739-1748<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>175</sup><br>1749-1758<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>176</sup><br>1759-1768<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>177</sup><br>1769-1778<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>178</sup><br>1779-1788<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>179</sup><br>1789-1798<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>180</sup><br>1799-1808<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>181</sup><br>1809-1818<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>182</sup><br>1819-1828<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>183</sup><br>1829-1838<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>184</sup><br>1839-1848<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>185</sup><br>1849-1858<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>186</sup><br>1859-1868<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>187</sup><br>1869-1878<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>188</sup><br>1879-1888<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>189</sup><br>1889-1898<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>190</sup><br>1899-1908<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>191</sup><br>1909-1918<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>192</sup><br>1919-1928<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>193</sup><br>1929-1938<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>194</sup><br>1939-1948<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>195</sup><br>1949-1958<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>196</sup><br>1959-1968<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>197</sup><br>1969-1978<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>198</sup><br>1979-1988<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>199</sup><br>1989-1998<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>200</sup><br>1999-2008<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>201</sup><br>2009-2018<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>202</sup><br>2019-2028<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>203</sup><br>2029-2038<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>204</sup><br>2039-2048<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>205</sup><br>2049-2058<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>206</sup><br>2059-2068<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>207</sup><br>2069-2078<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>208</sup><br>2079-2088<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>209</sup><br>2089-2098<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>210</sup><br>2099-2108<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>211</sup><br>2109-2118<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>212</sup><br>2119-2128<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>213</sup><br>2129-2138<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>214</sup><br>2139-2148<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>215</sup><br>2149-2158<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>216</sup><br>2159-2168<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>217</sup><br>2169-2178<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>218</sup><br>2179-2188<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>219</sup><br>2189-2198<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>220</sup><br>2199-2208<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>221</sup><br>2209-2218<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>222</sup><br>2219-2228<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>223</sup><br>2229-2238<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>224</sup><br>2239-2248<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>225</sup><br>2249-2258<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>226</sup><br>2259-2268<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>227</sup><br>2269-2278<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>228</sup><br>2279-2288<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>229</sup><br>2289-2298<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>230</sup><br>2299-2308<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>231</sup><br>2309-2318<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>232</sup><br>2319-2328<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>233</sup><br>2329-2338<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>234</sup><br>2339-2348<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>235</sup><br>2349-2358<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>236</sup><br>2359-2368<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>237</sup><br>2369-2378<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>238</sup><br>2379-2388<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>239</sup><br>2389-2398<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>240</sup><br>2399-2408<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>241</sup><br>2409-2418<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>242</sup><br>2419-2428<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>243</sup><br>2429-2438<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>244</sup><br>2439-2448<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>245</sup><br>2449-2458<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>246</sup><br>2459-2468<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>247</sup><br>2469-2478<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>248</sup><br>2479-2488<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>249</sup><br>2489-2498<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>250</sup><br>2499-2508<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>251</sup><br>2509-2518<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>252</sup><br>2519-2528<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>253</sup><br>2529-2538<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>254</sup><br>2539-2548<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>255</sup><br>2549-2558<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>256</sup><br>2559-2568<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>257</sup><br>2569-2578<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>258</sup><br>2579-2588<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>259</sup><br>2589-2598<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>260</sup><br>2599-2608<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>261</sup><br>2609-2618<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>262</sup><br>2619-2628<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>263</sup><br>2629-2638<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>264</sup><br>2639-2648<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>265</sup><br>2649-2658<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>266</sup><br>2659-2668<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>267</sup><br>2669-2678<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>268</sup><br>2679-2688<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>269</sup><br>2689-2698<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>270</sup><br>2699-2708<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>271</sup><br>2709-2718<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>272</sup><br>2719-2728<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>273</sup><br>2729-2738<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>274</sup><br>2739-2748<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>275</sup><br>2749-2758<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>276</sup><br>2759-2768<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>277</sup><br>2769-2778<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>278</sup><br>2779-2788<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>279</sup><br>2789-2798<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>280</sup><br>2799-2808<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>281</sup><br>2809-2818<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>282</sup><br>2819-2828<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>283</sup><br>2829-2838<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>284</sup><br>2839-2848<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>285</sup><br>2849-2858<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>286</sup><br>2859-2868<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>287</sup><br>2869-2878<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>288</sup><br>2879-2888<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>289</sup><br>2889-2898<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>290</sup><br>2899-2908<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>291</sup><br>2909-2918<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>292</sup><br>2919-2928<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>293</sup><br>2929-2938<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>294</sup><br>2939-2948<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>295</sup><br>2949-2958<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>296</sup><br>2959-2968<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>297</sup><br>2969-2978<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>298</sup><br>2979-2988<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>299</sup><br>2989-2998<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>300</sup><br>2999-3008<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>301</sup><br>3009-3018<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>302</sup><br>3019-3028<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>303</sup><br>3029-3038<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>304</sup><br>3039-3048<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>305</sup><br>3049-3058<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>306</sup><br>3059-3068<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>307</sup><br>3069-3078<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>308</sup><br>3079-3088<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>309</sup><br>3089-3098<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>310</sup><br>3099-3108<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>311</sup><br>3109-3118<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>312</sup><br>3119-3128<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>313</sup><br>3129-3138<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>314</sup><br>3139-3148<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>315</sup><br>3149-3158<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>316</sup><br>3159-3168<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>317</sup><br>3169-3178<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>318</sup><br>3179-3188<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>319</sup><br>3189-3198<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>320</sup><br>3199-3208<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>321</sup><br>3209-3218<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>322</sup><br>3219-3228<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>323</sup><br>3229-3238<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>324</sup><br>3239-3248<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>325</sup><br>3249-3258<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>326</sup><br>3259-3268<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>327</sup><br>3269-3278<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>328</sup><br>3279-3288<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>329</sup><br>3289-3298<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>330</sup><br>3299-3308<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>331</sup><br>3309-3318<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>332</sup><br>3319-3328<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>333</sup><br>3329-3338<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>334</sup><br>3339-3348<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>335</sup><br>3349-3358<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>336</sup><br>3359-3368<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>337</sup><br>3369-3378<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>338</sup><br>3379-3388<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>339</sup><br>3389-3398<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>340</sup><br>3399-3408<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>341</sup><br>3409-3418<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>342</sup><br>3419-3428<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>343</sup><br>3429-3438<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>344</sup><br>3439-3448<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>345</sup><br>3449-3458<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>346</sup><br>3459-3468<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>347</sup><br>3469-3478<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>348</sup><br>3479-3488<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>349</sup><br>3489-3498<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>350</sup><br>3499-3508<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>351</sup><br>3509-3518<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>352</sup><br>3519-3528<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>353</sup><br>3529-3538<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>354</sup><br>3539-3548<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>355</sup><br>3549-3558<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>356</sup><br>3559-3568<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>357</sup><br>3569-3578<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>358</sup><br>3579-3588<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>359</sup><br>3589-3598<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>360</sup><br>3599-3608<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>361</sup><br>3609-3618<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>362</sup><br>3619-3628<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>363</sup><br>3629-3638<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>364</sup><br>3639-3648<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>365</sup><br>3649-3658<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>366</sup><br>3659-3668<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>367</sup><br>3669-3678<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>368</sup><br>3679-3688<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>369</sup><br>3689-3698<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>370</sup><br>3699-3708<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>371</sup><br>3709-3718<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>372</sup><br>3719-3728<br>abbc<br>uw. | 1 <sup>373</sup><br>3729-3738<br>abbc<br>uw. |



disappear numerically. If we overlook them, there appears a definite sequence in each printing section: 1) a only; 2) abbc; then, after c is exhausted, 3) aaabb or aabbb; finally with the scarcity or exhaustion of a, 4) sort d, either with a and b or alone. Between these main groups there appear some transitions. One sees distinctly that a large amount of paper was not dealt out to a single printing section, so that it could operate independently with it, but there were given out quantities of paper as the work progressed and it was issued in accord with fixed rules in the necessary number of copies when the press started a new quire. This uniformity in the distribution of the paper assures us of the possibility of providing a synchronized review of the course of the entire printing operation. (see associated tables). As we know the time setting of the sections B - D as against A through the first points of 'forty-two liness' and the increase of the edition, we are in a position to represent their course graphically. There appears also in this way complete concurrence of transition from pure a to combinations with b and c. From the same assumption we are now able, at least approximately, to determine the point also at which the sub-sections which still begin with pure a, Ba and Aa, were taken in hand, and, finally, the smaller sections, separated from C and D, arrange themselves in their conjectural places. We see that in the first half of the time taken by the job a gradual increase of working strength had developed and





that probably from the middle onwards the job was worked concurrently in six places. For the special accommodation of the entire supplementary quire printed on d and the Tabula Rubricarum, no stopping point is observable. The setting of the first could be distributed satisfactorily inasmuch as it dealt only with identical page reprints, still it reflects two different typesetters (see below p. 99 ). It is therefore questionable whether all sections remained active in equal measure until the end. The largest indicated job amounts to 124 leaves in section B. According to the watermarks, there must have occurred a stoppage of the work in A and B inasmuch as the quire aabbc is missing. It would be very strange if, in the long duration of the job, such an event had not taken place.

We now ask, What functions do these divisions of the work serve? I have earlier assumed that each of the sections carried out the setting and printing of its section separately, if also in strict uniformity under the direction and control of the administration, that thus Gutenberg's operation had grown by degrees to six presses, with needed typesetters and press personnel.<sup>1/</sup> It is still, however, in the highest degree doubtful whether, in such division of the work, such uniform progress of the individual sections could have been achieved as, according to the determination given above, actually had taken place, yes whether such a uniformity would have been in the interest of the printing program. If the division of the work



was planned solely to expedite the job, then competition must have been desired among the co-workers. There must thus have been another regulating factor at work and one which was more controlling than the will of Gutenberg, and this consisted, in my opinion, in the fact that the back side of the leaves could not be printed before the front sides were completely dry, and that in the intervening time, they must have other work if the presses were not to stand still. Even today, in good work, there is allowed suitable periods of time between the primary impression and the counter-impression, and Gutenberg naturally did not know of the ingenious drying devices of modern times. We suppose that he always allowed one side of the entire section to be printed and that then, for the first time, the backside of the division was done. Thereby, all were forced to maintain the same pace. We will return to this in the discussion of printing techniques below.

The stock of type with which the 42 line Bible was executed is not the first type creation of Gutenberg. The minor imprints mentioned at the beginning, which are grouped in time before and with the Astronomical Calendar of 1448, show a somewhat larger but in essence closely related type, which looks like a stylization of a contemporary or little older handwriting in missal form. Its model may have been actually a missal or other liturgical manuscript, or a Donatus or a calligraphic Bible. It is not the place here to open the controversial question of



the history of the invention of printing again, or to return to its discussion, which must be determinative in the transformation of the living and flexible scribal letter for the purposes of mechanical reproduction.<sup>1/</sup> From the oldest of the existing pieces of printing, we see that their creator was successful in dividing the missal script - it was easier with them than with the other, flightier book letter - into single independent but still connectable book letters, to put them on punches, and after this, by a roundabout way, through casting over matrices, to easily produce many identical types. Other monuments of early printing show that Gutenberg was steadfastly determined to perfect these, his first defective types. In the form present in the Astronomical Calendar<sup>2/</sup> and in the 26 line Donatus<sup>3/</sup> they could be visualized in a larger printing project. But it must have been clear to Gutenberg that the large type would demand in itself a significant size for the printing and high production costs, especially if the Bible was held in view as the object of the new art. The later 36 line Bible executed in this type had 882 leaves, 241 or 38% more than the 42 line Bible, and even over 200 leaves or 30% more than a 40 line Bible would have had, as the first leaves of our Bible showed him. Then it must have seemed advantages to Gutenberg, - and perhaps also his financier forced him to it - to create anew a smaller, space-saving type.<sup>4/</sup> There existed for them also surely the prospect, after the completion of the Bible, of

..





the utilization [of the type] which Gutenberg expressly held before himself. For without doubt this printing material is identical with the 'Gezüge' of the Helmasperger Notarial Instrument, which Gutenberg completed in fact in connection with the work done in common with Fust,<sup>1/</sup> but, as he determinedly insisted, also as his own property and over which he, after the settlement of his loan, hoped to have the free disposition.

It would now be not only of interest in itself, but also important for the calculation of the time and cost, to know more exactly the technical procedures of the making of the type; whether the punches were made of steel (Hupp) or of brass (Zedler); or whether a bronze punch was achieved first through casting in a temporary form with a wooden punch (Gust. Mori<sup>2/</sup>); in what metal (copper, lead) the matrices were struck; whether the single letters already were cast from the casting tool later employed, or through a more primitive procedure (Zedler). Zedler and Mori refer to practical experiments which I can neither judge nor prove. They show, however, at the best, how the proceedings could have taken place, not how they must have occurred. The exposition of Hupp seems to me to be the best sustained historically (Abhandl. III), which is based on the traditional metal techniques of the Middle Ages. According to this, Gutenberg's proceedings would not differ essentially from later methods. It is now striking how generous he was in the manufacture of new punches when his type system required it, or



when the old forms did not suit him for any reason. Perhaps the principal work, which the manufacture of printing materials demanded, lay not especially in that we now see, but in the many unsuccessful efforts which had gone before, and of which we, in possession of our modern technical aids, surely can not make any truly comprehending statement.

Of course Gutenberg could take over the form of the common book-letters in general from his first font. They are, as indicated several times, those of the angular so-called 'Black letter.' In them, the original round strokes of the Middle Ages letters have been broken down into straight and oblique lines. The permanent change in the use of the pen required by this had created at the head and foot of the letters the small points extending to the left and to the right which gave the letters the characteristic grid-like appearance. This expresses itself in the stylized printing letters still more than in most manuscripts. In Gutenberg's type bodies, they extend sideways not quite completely to the edges (of adjacent letters) so that they do not touch in printing, but they come near enough to each other, to produce the compactness of the word picture which in the scribal writing could be achieved through combining hair strokes.

Manuscripts show throughout a still much closer connection within the words, where letters like c, f, g, t run in a horizontal line at n height, to which the next letter is joined



directly, often with one stroke. In order to do justice to this graphic practice, Gutenberg has added a great burden to his work; he had made a second form of every letter which in its normal form exhibited a kern to the left,<sup>1/</sup> which lacked this kern, and which was so placed in the body of the type that it impinged directly on the kerns to the right of the foregoing letters, and was also not only on the named letters, but also on s,r,x and so forth. Through this he produced the important printing aesthetic effect that all perpendicular elements stand in nearly exact relationship to one another and the larger white spaces within the letters are avoided. A glance at the facsimile suffices to distinguish the abutting forms from the independent ones and to convince oneself of the significance of the system.

It lay not necessarily in the essence of this system, but was present, however, in fact in Gutenberg's sample copy, that some abutting letters were distinguished from the independent form not only through lack of the left kern, but by possession of a quite distinct form. There are the letters beginning with an 'i' stroke, other than i itself, like n,p,r,u (more notably, this does not include m in the Bible type). They show an oblique, cut down, pointed head, which joins to e and r, but also to c,f and others in a very agreeable variation of strokes. In the case of u, through a kind of assimilation, the second perpendicular stroke was also formed long headed. A special variation





was possessed by x, in that the letter's distinguishing tail, which no longer had a place to the left, was transferred to the right.

In addition to the simple letters, we come to those with abbreviation signs, without which one can certainly not think of a Latin text of the time (see the type table),<sup>1/</sup> mostly p 87 a again in the doubled, the independent and the connected forms. They are also present already, almost without exception, in the older types. By contrast, the Bible type shows further development in the ligatures, that is, the combined letters which are cast on the same type body. They concern in part the cases in which the second component, also of the abutting form, cannot be placed close enough to the first, as in *ff*, *ss*, *st* and so forth; likewise, when the second letter to the left would have to overlap above or below the first, which is technically impossible, as in the case of *ct* with the usual tall form of *t* extended to the left, also in the cases of *ep*, *tp*, and *xp*; to this also belongs the form *p* with preceding punctuation. The most obvious parts of the ligatures rest, however, on the old scribal practice,<sup>2/</sup> after the two letters which are so drawn together with the signs *ꝫ* and *Ꝭ* that the two curves touch each other: *ꝫ*. With the change from the curved to the angular letter, there arose throughout a complete blending of the two perpendicular curves and therewith a saving of space. However, scribes have made use of this possibility of connecting letters in various circumstances, on the one hand





only by d (de, do ), on the other hand also with other similarly constructed letters, b, o, h, p , v. Earlier, the older Gutenberg type reveals an expansion of b, p, v, already present in the 26 line Donatus,<sup>1/</sup> while the later Gutenberg type shows the system completed. Of the ligatures of all kinds, most appear also in doubled form, many of them, moreover, with abbreviation signs.

The capitals of the Bible type show a character quite different from the old type. They must thus, like the greater part of the ligatures, have been newly designed. But also for the remaining ordinary letters, the altered size ratio was established. In the old type, expressed in round numbers, there is added to the n height of 5 mm., on the ascenders 2, and on the descenders 1 mm. Of them, in the Bible type, only the n height was subjected to essential reduction to an adequate 4 mm., the remaining measures continued essentially unchanged. At the same time, the width of the type, the strength of the downstrokes, and their separation from one another, was reduced not by 1/7 like the height, but by about 1/5th. Both together provided not only a significantly greater inclusiveness for the same printing area, but also a slenderer and more pleasing effect of the printed type. Nevertheless, an exact examination of the first leaves show that at the beginning of the work of printing, everything was not completely ready. Next to the very tall a, n, u stand strikingly shorter c and t; f is judged to be too condensed; and the (absent from



the older type) ligature ct ; extraordinarily low are the abbreviation strokes in ā and ī; unfortunate is the desired crossing in the lower element þ; some letters, among them most examples of l do not hold an exact line, l stands somewhat bent towards the right, and so forth. A part of these small defects in appearance were improved at once, for others work was in progress, as after the completion of the first leaves of sections A and B, improvements appeared which led to still greater improvements in the stock of type.

Presumably they saw that in the previous type plan the estimated size would be exceeded, essentially. On the first page, no doubt in agreement with the copy, extensive use was made of word abbreviations. Perhaps they realized that this would not be desirable over the entire job. Besides, other reasons and calculations may have indicated the need for greater economy of space. In any case, the goal was better utilization of the columns, that is, increase of the line count without making the unified appearance of the impression to suffer.

The unification of the two requirements was made possible through the circumstance that the type of the beginning leaves had been cast on a somewhat greater shank than the letter form absolutely required. Surplus 'flesh' of nearly .3 mm. over the ascenders and the abbreviation marks protected them from striking together with the descenders from the previous line and at the same time increased the distinguished appearance of the printing.



If this additional 'protection' were sacrificed, one could hope to gain space for two additional lines, and this signified a gain of five leaves in each one-hundred, or over thirty leaves in the entire Bible, which, from the point of view of the cost of material and the press work, was always a matter of importance.<sup>1/</sup>

Indeed, the reduction which was required of the previous shank height from 7,26 (by other measures 7,35) to 6,9 (7) mm. was more than the type could stand. This appeared perhaps first when the reduction to 6,91 (5,05) had come down too hard on the ascenders, i-hooks, and abbreviation signs and had bent them accordingly. This trial state is present on page 5<sup>v</sup> of the first section, which, with forty-one lines remained a little short of the column height of the preceding 40 line leaves. On the following page, 6<sup>r</sup>, we see the goal reached, 42 lines with the column length of the 40 line pages, but also the previously mentioned part of the type, especially the i-hooks and the many abbreviation signs, severely cut down. In section B the transition occurs, without the intermediate stage, on leaf 132<sup>r/v</sup>.

How to explain technically the foregoing remains debatable. As a non-technician, following the appearance of the printing on the cited pages, I have assumed that Gutenberg compressed his type partly and then brought them through planing or grinding the upper sides, first to the 41 line, then further to the 42 line shank height. This seems also the easiest way to explain the strange intermediate and trial stage of the 41 line page. However,





present-day typecasting experts regard this procedure as impossible, or at least as so laborious, that a new casting would have been preferable. The damage visible on the upper part of the type might be explained either by the reduction in the size of the punch or by the removal of the overhang of letters cast from the old matrices on the smaller shank. Both possibilities demand a double recasting for the intermediate stage, which in itself is little likely.<sup>1/</sup>, the first would be excluded for the reason that not every example of a letter shows exactly the same damage. Now, demonstrably, a recasting of several letters had occurred before the setting-up of page 5<sup>V</sup>; there was a new (undamaged) i with a somewhat variant hook, a new f and st. But just this raises questions. If a new satisfactory i-form was at hand, there was no reason to cast it again from the old matrix in order to mutilate the completed letter through cutting away the overhang. Likewise, st still appears occasionally in the old form, also cases of g and l in crooked position, an error it was easy to correct by recasting. Therefore, I hold it for more probable that Gutenberg had understood <sup>2/</sup> how to bring existing type, which was not too large, to a smaller shank through reworking, and that first afterwards either through recasting or also through the use of new punches, he removed the errors which adhered to the type in regard to the ascenders and in other respects. Thus it may be explained that in the transition damaged types appeared often in the impressions, but gradually become fewer.



Among the tall letters, the capitals play a special role. They retain, at least for a short time, the old forms, then become, however, under revision of the original punches, somewhat abbreviated and rounded off on the heads. For some of them, a third form was created, one not exactly pleasing, but somewhat space-sparing for A, and some variants, characterized by rectilinear cut off heads, for C, E, F, N, R. In contrast, we find several bent lines instead of the otherwise straight ones in the later appearing ligatures bā and kā and in the substitute form va for [?] and ve. One can conclude from this that different hands have executed them, either in the designing of the letters, or maybe in the punch cutting. How far Gutenberg took a practical share in this himself, we do not know. From the fact that he paid to the goldsmith, Hans Dunne, one hundred gulden to do 'that which pertains to printing' in Strassburg, one may assume well that he also employed outsiders in Mainz. The bent beginning stress in the new va and ve make us think of Peter Schoeffer, in whose type this stress recurs, and also the rectilinear reduced heads of the capitals find their counterparts in the Psalter type.<sup>1/</sup> This is, however, still no basis to cut off Gutenberg entirely, with Zedler, and then assign the leading technical role in the printing of the Bible to Peter Schoeffer.<sup>2/</sup>

The creation of the new forms apparently went hand in hand with the increase of the stock of type, which became necessary through the commencement of additional typesetters' sections.



This applies after the sections B<sup>a</sup> and A<sup>a</sup> were begun. Nevertheless, the later sections are not provided with new materials throughout. There may be found in them also broken older type, and, inversely, some new forms appear first in the old sections. On the whole, however, in the course of the printing, the type became uniform and consistent. Towards the end, its appearance became only a little injured through evidences of wear, especially in the kerns and the i-curves, but, on the whole, the types proved to be pretty durable.

How, now, has this type apparatus been employed by the typesetters? Surely, it was not simple to work with about 220 letters (if we do not count separately the synonymous forms) as well in the setting up as in the putting away. In spite of this, the result is completely satisfactory. Certain variations and developments are to be observed here also, however.

Especially noteworthy is the almost error-free execution of the system of 'Anschlussformen' (abutting letter forms) of which there has been talk above. They stand regularly after c, e, f, g, r, h, t, x, y, after the capitals C, E, F, T, X, Y, and, for a long time, after the abutting form of s. This last case is definitive for the uniform control of the printing of the Bible. Apparently the abutting form of s was not uniformly cast, in part with broader feet, so that the following letters in the unconnected form had a too wide interval, in part smaller, so that the abutting forms came too close. For that reason, at first,





DIE GUTENBERGBIBEL

| Types on the larger shanks | Later and variant forms |                      |                      |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| a a a a a                  | ā ā ā                   | q q q q q q q        | q̄ q̄ q̄ q̄ q̄ q̄ q̄ |
| b b b b b b b              | bā                      | q̄ q̄ q̄ q̄ q̄ q̄ q̄ | q̄ q̄ q̄ q̄ q̄ q̄ q̄ |
| c c c c c c c              | ba                      | r r r r r r r        | r r r r r r r        |
| d d d d d d d              | dā                      | r r r r r r r        | r r r r r r r        |
| e e e e e e e              | da                      | r r r r r r r        | r r r r r r r        |
| f f f f f f f              | ē ē ē ē ē ē ē           | r r r r r r r        | r r r r r r r        |
| g g g g g g g              | f f f f f f f           | r r r r r r r        | r r r r r r r        |
| h h h h h h h              | g g g g g g g           | r r r r r r r        | r r r r r r r        |
| i i i i i i i              | h h h h h h h           | r r r r r r r        | r r r r r r r        |
| k k k k k k k              | i i i i i i i           | r r r r r r r        | r r r r r r r        |
| m m m m m m m              | m m m m m m m           | r r r r r r r        | r r r r r r r        |
| n n n n n n n              | n n n n n n n           | r r r r r r r        | r r r r r r r        |
| o o o o o o o              | o o o o o o o           | r r r r r r r        | r r r r r r r        |
| p p p p p p p              | p p p p p p p           | r r r r r r r        | r r r r r r r        |
| r r r r r r r              | r r r r r r r           | r r r r r r r        | r r r r r r r        |

Capitals; Lines 1 & 4, forms on the larger shanks; lines 2 & 5, the same on the smaller shanks; Line 3, later forms.





there was some fluctuation, then the arrangement apparently became firm, always to set the abutting type. This rule is almost consistently followed in the three printing divisions then in progress, if not so consistently executed as the rest of the rules of connection. Section D, which was commenced later, adhered to the rule from the beginning. Then it was discontinued again, in almost all cases at just the same time. It was employed in sections:-

A: I, 16<sup>v</sup> to 43<sup>r</sup> = 54 pages

B: I, 143<sup>r</sup> to 171<sup>r</sup> = 57 pages. Corresponding to 16<sup>v</sup> to 44<sup>v</sup> in time.

C: II, 4<sup>r</sup> to 24<sup>r</sup> 1/ = 41 pages. Corresponding to I, 20<sup>r</sup> to 40<sup>r</sup> in time.

D: II, 162<sup>r</sup> to 171<sup>r</sup> = 19 pages. The end corresponding in time to I, 41<sup>r</sup>.

No definite rule is followed in the setting of the named ligatures of b, d, and so forth with a, e, o. They are regulated, no doubt, only by considerations of space. In contrast, there is observable a definite rule for the employment of the round l. It should properly always stand after o, but is here in general restricted to the ends of words or of syllables, thus -col, corde, but ore.<sup>2/</sup> The variations from this rule are not numerous and significant enough to deduce the individuality of a setter from them. Section D alone reveals a preference on the first leaves for the frequently reappearing l and l, especially in the combination l o.



The raised S is meant surely for use only at the ends of lines and is so used mostly, still it appears many times, particularly in the first sections, within the lines also. Especially it was more used in A and B than in the later press sections. In the supplementary printing, it is omitted as much as possible.

The use of u and y is so regulated that y always stands at the beginning, u in the inner parts of words, for example, thus vua = uva. Exceptions are ut, uel and usque.<sup>1/</sup> In the beginning of the typesetting, the round and the square forms of the capitals were used without distinction.

For the rest, the orthography is that of the late Middle Ages (michi, nichil, e = ae, and so on) as the copy naturally provided them. To this also belonged some of the orthography which was used by the typesetters at the beginning of the printing, but experienced alterations in its course. They are easiest to see when the same places of the first and second impressions are compared with one another. Thus we find instead of the aspirated forms of pulcher, sepulchrum, holocaustum, abominari,<sup>2/</sup> later pulcer, sepulcrum, olocaustum, abominari; instead of quiquid and quidquam, quicquid and quicquam, for cumque, cunque and others. Most obvious is the transition from the c- to t- orthography in the endings -tia and -tio. The new orthography did not develop whole at one time, also when one recalls that, on account of the nonappearance of pertinent words over long stretches, the point of change often is not exactly determinable. Thus the



rejection of the h occurs very early, even before the start of sections C and D.<sup>1/</sup>

pulcher last A: I, 9, B I, 138(11), C:-, D:-

pulcer first A: I, 14, B, I 139(12) C: II, 2(18) D: II, 163 (34)

holocaustum last A: I, 8, B: I, 135<sup>V</sup>(9) C:-, D:-

olocaustum firsttime A: I, 13<sup>V</sup>, B: I, 137<sup>V</sup>(11) C: II, 17(33)  
D: II, 162(33)

In contrast, the transition from cumque to cunque<sup>2/</sup> is very late, some time after the enlargement of the edition:-

cumque last time A: I, 45, B: I, 172<sup>V</sup>(45), C:II, 24<sup>V</sup>(40), D: -

Cunque first time A: I, 46<sup>V</sup>, B: I, 174(47), C: II, 53(69)  
D: II, 180(52)

The definiteness and simultaneousness of the changes in the different printing sections which is seen here, apparently an action of the director of the press or of the correctors, appears in the question of the c- and t- orthography only in gratia<sup>3/</sup> and etiam:-

gracia: last time A: I, 20, B: I, 55(29), C: II, 1(17), D: -

Gratia: first time A: I, 34<sup>V</sup>, B: I, 161<sup>V</sup>(35), C: II, 15(31)  
D: II, 172(43)

eciam: last time A: I, 46, B: I, 178<sup>V</sup>(51) C: II, 23(39)  
D: II, 180<sup>V</sup>(52)

etiam: first time A: I, 53, B: I, 181(54), C: II, 37<sup>V</sup>(53)  
D: II, 181(53)

Here thus the change of orthography took place at the time of I, 29/31 or 52/53; relapse into the old orthography did not come sooner, so far as I can see. In contrast, other cases, especially words ending in -tio and -ntio, are subject to greater





variation. After original regular -cio we find in A from I, 14, in B from I, 134<sup>V</sup>(8) and in C and D from the beginning on, prevailing -tio, but for a long time intermixed with -cio, especially in the abbreviation co, and first from a definite point forward - I, 54, I, 178(52), II, 37<sup>V</sup>(53) and II, 183(54) - these disappear finally. Still less evident is the relationship of -ncia and -ntia. Isolated cases of the c- orthography occur here for a long time, presumably because words like iusticia retain their c to the end.

Of the punctuation signs which occur in the Bible, the period on the line serves as the ending of sentences, while the period over the line and the colon serve as subdivision without really observable differences. The relative frequency of these two varies a lot in the beginning. It is especially markworthy that on leaves I, 9<sup>r</sup>-13<sup>v</sup>(10 pages) and correspondingly on 135<sup>r</sup>-139<sup>r</sup>(9 pages) the colon is eliminated in all but a very few places.<sup>1/</sup> On the other hand, in the later parts of the printing, the point over the line becomes very rare or is absent entirely. In the supplementary printing, it is used again.

In the division of a word at the end of the lines, indicated almost exclusively through a hyphen, syllable divisions were scrupulously observed; mn, ct, pt and others, in the beginning ss also more often, were regarded as belonging to the next syllable. At the end of a page or column we never find a word division present, as is also the rule today.



Complete uniformity of line lengths was hardly to be accomplished in the manuscript production of books and was therefore not particularly sought by most scribes. In typesetting, which offered additional improvements, it was no impossibility from the beginning; however in the small printings which preceded the Bible no importance was given to it (there were no line endings in the astronomical calendar). It is an innovation, when, in the printing of the Bible, attention was paid to the good justification of the ends of the lines, to be sure, not everywhere with equal care and equal skill. Thus A had nearly well justified columns from the middle of the second quire on, while they are not so well done in B, even after this time. C worked in the beginning in a quite distinguished manner, but on leaves 23 - 28 his ends are poor, and long afterwards also of fluctuating quality. D is in general good, if also not outstanding. Also, the small sections leave very little to desire, as especially at the end of the printing, tolerable uniformity developed in this matter. In the supplementary printing, the setter of I, 129 ff. improved on his copy, in comparison it was conscientiously executed in this as in other points.

Through examination of line endings, it is to be observed that the raised S is not justified in the columns and likewise the division signs and the periods on the type line. In contrast, the question marks and the colons are justified, this after some variation at the beginning of the printing. The period at the



half n height was not treated differently from that on the line, but from I, 43 and correspondingly in the section B from I, 172(= A, 45/46) onwards it was included like the colon in the column. In C the practice changes until from II, 29(=A, 45) onwards there is uniform positioning of the colon; in D this is likewise the case from leaf 170(=A, 41) onwards. It is striking that Section B (I, 261 ff.) which was set first, perhaps at the same time as A, 55, still follows the old rule on the first leaves.

To achieve lines of equal length, the typesetter had at his disposal, on the one hand, the many abbreviation type forms, and on the other, the use of justifiers between the words. Very little use was made of the latter means, although very much to the advantage of uniformity and compactness in the setting. Most satisfying for word division were the smallest available justifiers <sup>1/</sup> in the size of an i or n bar, which also are occasionally visible as a pick (or spot). If the separation really appears somewhat greater to the eye, this consists mostly in the facing of the perpendiculars against the kerns or against the empty spaces in e, t and so on. Still there occurs very early in fact, even in the first short lines in I, 1, separation of one and a half and twofold strength, without its separation injuring the appearance of the printing. It becomes more damaging, as with the progressive improvement in the alignment of the columns, needed separation within the lines was shifted





more and more to the positioning of the punctuation marks. These were, always excluding the question mark, apparently from the beginning, cast on the body of type of somewhat more varied width, the smallest in the breadth of an i with its kern, others somewhat broader, but almost always so that the punctuation marks stood in the middle, thus allowing equal amounts of white before and after itself. This procedure was still further extended, probably through insertion of justifiers before and after the punctuation type. By this means, very unpleasant white spots have developed in the composition.

The other means to regulate the length of lines, the use of abbreviations, underwent, as already indicated above, a definite reduction in the course of the printing, while less usable abbreviation devices, for example, the use of r and re within words, were no longer used. Practice at the beginning and towards the end of the work becomes clearest here also by comparison of passages of the first and second impressions.

Uniformity in the justification of the lines and columns was influenced here and there by considerations of the end of a book or chapter, which made desirable a compression or expansion of the settings. Chapter ends were as a rule so adjusted that in the last lines some space remained for the number of the following chapter (Form 1). If the last line was fully required by the text, then space was provided first at the end of the opening line of the new chapter for the number (Form 2).





In exceptional cases, small bits of text from preceding chapters, for which there was no space in the last line, are introduced in the line between the number and the beginning words of the new chapter. They are separated from the beginning words of the new chapter by a small intermediate space, which should be set off by the rubricator with a red stroke (Form 3). The omission of this marking could easily lead to misunderstanding.<sup>1/</sup>

In the employment of these forms, there appears a definite regularity in the sections of the printing, at first the practice fluctuates chiefly so that the frequency of the first and second forms in A, B and C compare perhaps as 3:2. This fluctuation continues in A to I, 35, in B to I, 168, in C to II, 21, that is, everywhere until shortly after the point in time of the increase of the edition. D had first started at that time, and in him Form 2 occurs only once II, 164. From there on, Form 1 was as a rule employed, and, to be sure, in C and D with very diminishing exceptions, until the end, in A and B chiefly until I, 73 and I, 194, points which again coincide fairly well in time. From there until the end (I, 101) A goes back and forth to Form 2 (perhaps 13% of the cases), while it is fairly numerous in B on leaves I, 195-224, from 225-252 it quite disappears, however, in order to reappear several times again on the last leaves. In the small typesetters' sections, Form 1 appears in part quite alone, in part with few exceptions, only in II, 285/309 (D<sup>C</sup>) occur 31 cases



of Form 1, compared to nine of Forms 2 and 3. Exception is made here for the Psalter for which no continuous numbering is provided, but only longer headlines which naturally frequently burst over into the first text line and are handled more like the beginnings of books. We find, for understandable reasons, in the single brief section of Psalm 118, more often Forms 2 and 3.

The examination of the typesetter practice in the different sections of the work, in spite of the prevailing extensive harmony and the definitely sought full uniformity, has revealed many tensions which result from the distribution of the work to single persons. It is to <sup>be</sup> understood that these were men who had just as much mastered their Latin as their scribal skills. We know about Peter Schoeffer, who appeared in the Helmasperger Notarial Instrument on the side of Fust, and who surely had shared in the printing of the Bible, that he was even in 1449 active in Paris as a manuscript writer. A similar preparation may have been had by two others who were described in the sources as 'Diener und Knechte' of Gutenberg; Heinrich Keffer, who in 1473 worked with Johann Sensenschmidt in Nuremberg, and Berthold (Ruppel) von Hanau who, at the latest from 1468 on, was an independent printer in Basel. He died in 1494/5, was thus at the time of the printing of the Bible relatively young, as was also Peter Schoeffer (d. beginning of 1503). On Gutenberg's side, there was named Heinrich Guntheri, 'etwan<sup>1</sup>/ Pfarrer zu Sankt



Christophorous zu Mainz.' We may be free to imagine that he had collaborated as a counsellor learned in the Bible and perhaps as a corrector. We would then have him to thank that the text of the Bible on the whole may be called correct. This does not exclude that greater or lesser mistakes occur, also some of sense-destroying character, be it that they were already contained in the original, or they had arisen through misreading and failures in setting-up. There will be opportunity to bring examples below.

How the complete composition looked which was given to the pressman by the compositor we can only gather from slender evidences. The type itself, of which it consisted, was probably in a form not essentially different from later type. This is proven through the image here pictured on the lower margin of I, 46 in the Pelplin copy;

faciē: timuerūt ppe accedere. Vocatiq;  
ab eo reuerſi ſunt: tam aaron q̄ prin-  
cipēs ſynagoge. Et poſtq̄ locutus eſt  
ad eos: uenerunt ad eum etiā omnes  
filij iſrahel. Quibz precepit cuncta que  
audierat a dño in mōte ſynai. Imple-  
riſq; ſermonibz poſuit uelamen ſuper  
faciem ſuā. Quod ingreſſus ad dñm  
et loquēs cū eo auferret donec p̄ter-

This can only be explained as the indirect impression of dirty type lying in the press. A similar outline may be recognized in spite of careful erasure in the same place in the Berlin copy,





only pushed some millimeters toward the type to the left, corresponding to the greater width of the inner margin in a vellum copy. Noteworthily, I have found no additional traces in any other copies I have examined. The width of the misprint corresponds to the height of the type of perhaps seven millimeters, the length of the type shank may have amounted to twenty-two to twenty-four millimeters.

The columns of letters were put together from type so formed and justifiers. In that case, it seems however also that the space between the columns and at least part of borders were made up not out of bars as would be the case today, but from moveable justifiers, especially in the form of quadrats.<sup>1/</sup> Evidences of such appear here and there, to a large extent on I, 121<sup>v</sup> of the Berlin copy. They extend here on the inner borders about twelve millimeters from the letters along lines 30-42 and in the space between the columns (two quadrats lying next to each other, the supposed third not visible) from line 37 to line 42. On the top of the bottom margins, I have not observed evidences of modifiers.<sup>2/</sup>

With this mobile construction of the composition, it surely follows that there exists no completely standard form for the width of the columns or for their separation from each other. The former varies, often even on the same page, between eighty-five and eighty-eight millimeters, an exact average size is not observable, however, on account of the above dis-



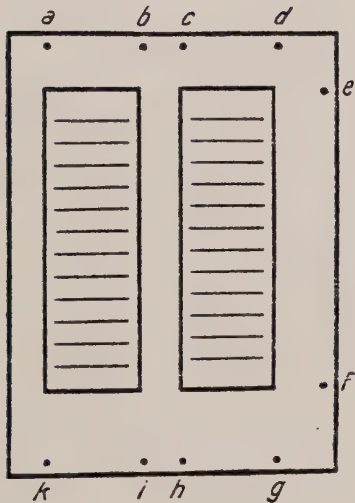
cussed irregularity in the amount of the justification of the lines. By contrast, the irregularity in the separation of the columns is so definitely measurable that one can distinguish a smaller width of 20-21 and a larger one of 22-23 mm. The difference appears immediately when one compares I, 128 and 129, II, 130 and 131, and 261 and 262, thus at the dividing lines between the sections of the work. Surely this allows us to conclude therefrom that it results not from a chance change, but from the intended practice of the different typesetters, which, strange to say, had not been harmonized, though differing, by the director of the press. The narrower separation is the original, it yields, however, in sections A and B in the course of the work, to the wider. C and D adhere to it at the end, then it is retained by A in the supplementary printing, and on leaves 7-16 of the supplementary printing by C. In contrast, the small sections of type setting<sup>1/</sup> and the supplementary printing of B, as well as the Tabula Rubricarum, have the wider separation. It is therefore not probable that more than two typesetters worked on the supplementary printing. If this indeed had been the case, then the pages from A and C 7-16 were given to the typesetters of B and C.

Along the outer and inner sides of the leaves are found at a distance of 25 to 30 millimeters from the type, several signs of a sharp, lightly blackened line, probably made by the frame of the typeform. How the composition was locked in the



form escapes our knowledge, just as what preparations were required to make it easily accessible for the reinking each time.

We are better informed about the attachment of the sheets to the hinged tympan over the form. They have left behind their traces in the slight punctures - we will call them simply pinholes - which are visible in the margins of the leaves, so far as the bookbinders have not cut them away. They betray that, at the beginning, the [pressmen] proceeded with excessive care in the work; the sheets were fastened in not less than ten



places, approximately at the places where the extension of the edges of the columns meet the outer edges of the sheet. However, this precise method of fastening the sheets was employed only in the first gatherings of sections A and B, then the four punctures b, c, i, and h ceased.

They were retained in the vellum copies, still only to the fourth gathering of A and B, the third of C and the second of D, in the last gathering used only in one case, and not once in all other examples of the same sheet.<sup>1/</sup>

As only one sheet could be printed at once, the folded sheet was laid on and fastened. The pinholes of both halves of the sheet passed in fact sharply through one another. When, as it happened in the beginning, the pinholes for the second





half of the sheet were determined independently, then the whole sheet showed double holes.

It is particularly evident in the paper copies that the pinholes everywhere were made from the recto side first, afterwards, to the verso pages, that thus the sheets were not, as in later bookprinting, fastened on fixed points, but firmly fastened with loose pins on the bracket,<sup>1/</sup> without a doubt a somewhat primitive procedure. Only thus is explained the just mentioned repeated change of the manner of fastening in the vellum printings.

The fastening places on the tympan were in general designated in advance, but apparently so that there was a definite space for play in the execution. It is at least questionable whether the variations in the separation of the pinholes are only to be attributed to the shrinkage of the paper and vellum. In addition, on account of the format differences (paper 411:300, vellum 430:312 mm.), the positions for each material were particularly determined. The separations a-d and k-g (192-196 mm.) naturally remained equal in each case. The distance a-k and d-g amount on paper to 397-400 mm, on vellum to 407-411 mm., the separation (seldom present) of the sideline pinholes e, f from the line dg, 52-58 (on paper), perhaps 66 millimeters (on vellum). The opposite sides, the fold of the sheets, contained no fastening, but to determine its position, it was separated from the line a-k perhaps by 39 mm. for paper and 45 mm. for vellum





The special treatment of vellum suggests that it may have been printed on a press of its own. A compelling reason for such an assumption does not exist; on the contrary, the supposed impression of a type in the same positions on the Pelplin paper copy and on the Berlin vellum copy could only occur in one and the same press.

The pinholes serve not only to fasten the sheets, but should also assure the exact positioning of the printing on the verso, the 'register'. This is surely only possible if the bracket to which the sheet is attached and the printing form are constantly in the correct position with respect to each other, or could easily be set so. In this there seems to have been failures in the printing of the Bible. Even in the printing of the rectos, there occur slippages of the type to the top, bottom or sideways, frequently also to slightly slanting positions, still more often is this the case on the verso, without the pinholes showing variation in any way. In many cases the mistakes occur in the same places in different copies; in most cases, so far as can be judged, it is peculiar to single sheets; an indication of this, that, after each reinking, a careful adjustment of the printing form had to be made. It deserves great admiration that, in the context of the faultless register of most leaves, the faulty ones really disappear.

Whether Gutenberg already had used a paper mask to protect the margins and other empty spaces from smudging is not known



with assurance. The above mentioned spots and traces of justifiers in the side margins and between the columns argue against this. On the other hand, without protection devices, they must have been more numerous. Dull marks, especially in the vellum copies, not far from the outer corners of the columns of type, could originate from a small covering frame.

The printing ink used is not absolutely waterfast, but shows a significant advance from the Donatus prints of the first Gutenberg type. It is gleaming black. If in the vellum copies it frequently shows a dull appearance, leaning to gray, blame that on the coating of powder which comes from the prepared surface of the vellum. It may be removed easily with a swab of cotton-wool or of soft leather. The application of the black is well done throughout, but in exceptional cases somewhat thinly, here and there rather too richly. so that the impression may want sharpness and penetrate to the other side of the vellum. In such places, the appearance of the reproduction is also quite naturally injured.

The impression itself was made with great force and has often left behind a strong relief on the vellum. Only in very few cases is there duplication of a page, column or single place to be observed. Although each sheet had to go through the press four times, actual printing errors seem to occur really only rarely, otherwise there would be found more often cut single leaves in place of double sheets. In the Berlin copy, there is



such a case at I, 34 and 37 (St. Paul, I, 241 and 247; Munich II, 112 and 119). Still usable second half leaves of misprints could be used in the gathering, with odd leaf count.

As already mentioned, in the beginning of sections A and B an attempt was made to print the rubrics in red (I, 1, 4 and 5, and 129, 130). That this happened first as an afterthought and not in connection with the printing of the pertinent pages, one sees in this, that the type used already belonged to the type with smaller shanks that was used from I, 6 on. Still, however, the attempt can not be much later, for otherwise surely, for the sake of uniformity, the beginning of C (II, 1, at the same time as I, 17) would have been done in the same manner. In consideration of the care which the good fit of the black printing had apparently required, the difficult imprinting of the single red lines would be deemed highly fortunate, even if they did not fit equally in all copies. One gathers, however, at the same time, that the effort was too great to seem profitable and that the attempt was therefore abandoned. Instead, the *Tabula Rubricarum* was then produced as copy for the manuscript entries, and this was naturally superfluous after the intended use but was retained in the two copies, Munich and Vienna (see Supplement, leaves 92-95). They contain the text of the rubrics in the arrangement of the lines provided in the Bible.<sup>1/</sup> The wording is not entirely equivalent to what is required for the use of the existing space. However, aside from that, errors also occur,





thus, at II, 248: Praefatio in omnes epistolas s. pauli apostoli ad romanos (!); at II, 270 the incipit for the epistle to the Colossians is missing.

Still the question may be asked whether precautions were taken in printing to avoid confusion of the sheets. The existing copies of the Bible with sufficiently broad margins which I have examined almost all show, often to be sure only in meagre remains, signatures of gatherings and of sheets. The latter consist of the signing of the first five leaves in a gathering with Arabic numbers, mostly in the lower right hand corners. The quire signatures are made either through letters or through ciphers and are repeated usually first on each numbered leaf as a1, a2-a5, b1 and so on. Thus in the Göttingen copy (here at the right, above), Mazarine, British Museum vellum, Lambeth (no leaf numbers visible), P. Morgan-Huth copy. Elsewhere, the gathering signatures, which consist of one cipher, are set only once on the outer margin of the first leaf. This is the case in the copies (Aschaffenburg), Berlin, Fulda, Laubach, Leipzig U.-B. vellum,<sup>1/</sup> St. Paul, Eton, (British Museum paper doubtlessly), Manchester, Oxford.

In both cases, the gathering signatures run throughout the volumes, right past the typesetters' sections. They were thus first undertaken later, after the assembling of the copies, and then, in the collected signatures (a1 and so forth) the two elements were inscribed, apparently at the same time,



thus also the sheet numbering can first belong to this time.<sup>1/</sup>  
 In the work of printing, the ordering itself must have been kept correct only by separation and strict attention. From the fact that in the Paris vellum copy, the type from I, 36<sup>V</sup> is offset on 37<sup>R</sup>; one may conclude that the sheets were gathered as soon as possible in quires.

Opinions differ widely concerning the probable size of the edition in which the Bible was printed. In the Berlin Festschrift of 1900, working from the number of existing copies and the ratio of the kinds of paper used, I reached the assumption of 170 copies on paper and thirty copies on vellum. This seemed for the first big printing job, whose very saleability was not evident, somewhat large. Dziatzko (*Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten*, Heft 15, Leipzig 1902, pages 98 ff.) thought, on the ground, other things being really uncertain, of the calculation of the profits, he was able to reduce the first count to 115, while increasing the vellum copies to thirty-five. Zedler, who in his *Gutenbergforschungen* (Leipzig 1901, pages 87 ff.) had calculated as many as 240 plus 30 copies, fell later (*Zbl. f. Bibliotheksw.* 24, Leipzig 1907, pages 202 ff.) into the opposite extreme of fifty-four plus sixteen copies. Hupp (III, page 131) took for his calculation of costs, the count of eighty plus twenty, which he, however, himself regarded as quite problematic, and on page 133, increased it by better utilization of the vellum skins to thirty vellum and 150 paper copies.



The only firm point of departure for calculation, or better stated. estimate of the edition has become the count of the known copies: compare page 66 above. - We found:-

|                                   | Paper | Vellum |
|-----------------------------------|-------|--------|
| Complete or large copies in being | 33    | 12     |
| Copies lost recently              | 5     | ---    |
| Inferred from fragments           | 6     | 6      |
| Totals                            | 44    | 16     |

Zedler's second assumption is proven thereby to be much too low.

If we limit ourselves, in order to have a firmer foundation, only to the existing copies and add the lost copies, or those proven through fragments and otherwise to be lost, then the count of the latter must still be deemed a multiple of the existing copies. Of the 36 line Bible, which in its splendid format offered about the same assurance of permanence as the 42 line Bible, there exists at the highest fourteen copies, none on vellum, and still the edition must have amounted to fifty plus five copies, if it was to offer in some measure the prospect of covering the costs. Zedler calculated (*Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft* X.XI, Mainz 1911, page 112) on the basis of the types of paper its final paper edition at seventy, that is, the quintuplicate of existing copies. Of the Mentelin Bible, which was plain looking and therefore more usable, perhaps only twenty-five copies are known to us, to them the printed edition must have stood in a similar relation.





This would allow us to calculate for the paper edition of the 42 line Bible up to 165 copies. We may assume that the vellum copies had greater durability and thus postulate an edition of not more than triple the existing copies, perhaps thirty-five or thirty-six copies.

These estimates apply to the final edition. Its relation to the original smaller number of copies may be concluded from the table given on page 67<sup>a</sup> concerning the quires of the first and second printings. A recapitulation of the table provides the following numbers:-

| Lage            | I <sup>a</sup> | I <sup>b</sup> | I <sup>c</sup> | I <sup>d</sup> | I <sup>e</sup> | I <sup>f</sup> | I <sup>g</sup> | II <sup>a</sup> | II <sup>b</sup> | II <sup>c</sup> | II <sup>d</sup>  |
|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Blatt           | 1-10           | 11-20          | 21-30          | 31-32          | 129-38         | 139-48         | 149-58         | 1-10            | 11/14           | 15/16           | 162 <sup>a</sup> |
| Papier 1. Dr.:  | 21             | 25             | 21             | 22             | 23             | 21             | 23             | 22              | 21              | (15)            | 22               |
| Papier 2. Dr.:  | 8              | 5              | 7              | 6              | 7              | 8              | 6              | 6               | 6               | (11)            | 6                |
| Pergam. 1. Dr.: | 7              | 7              | 7              | 7              | 6              | 6              | 6              | 6               | 6               | 5               | 8                |
| Pergam. 2. Dr.: | 4              | 4              | 5              | 4              | 5              | 5              | 5              | 4               | 4               | 5               | 2                |

The counts for II 15/16 in paper are abnormal and better set aside, then there are 221 cases of the first impression, compared to sixty-five of the second, equals 77.3 and 22.7 % (nearly 4:1), and on vellum seventy-one and forty-seven cases equals 60.2 and 39.8 % (3:2). For vellum, this results in, following the above assumption, perhaps eighteen and twelve, or twenty and fifteen copies.

For the paper edition, we have as a second point of departure the ratio of the kinds of paper used, a way which, to be sure, Hupp (III, page 124) wished to eliminate as 'vague sophistry'. The calculation of twenty-seven copies (see above,





page 73) had proven that of paper c, on the average sixteen sheets were included in one copy. A ream of 480 sheets was therefore sufficient for thirty copies (possible misprints included). That the paper was handled generally by reams is admitted with certainty, that also the purchased quantities consisted of full reams. This kind, like the stopgap papers b and d generally, was used first in the enlarged edition, and only for a short time, thus there was no overage. Therefore, there is greater probability in estimating the edition in multiples of thirty. The number ninety would produce only seventy-two copies perhaps in the first edition, which seems too small.<sup>1/</sup>

Of the other stopgap papers, d is unsuited for our purposes because it was used in great measure for the supplementary edition, and we do not know whether the supply was consumed or a residue was left. Also b was still used in the supplementary printing, but only in the beginning and in a very small amount (1 or 1/2 sheets in a supplementary copy). For the rest, it is represented on the average with fifty-one sheets in each copy.

According to this, we have:-

|           |            |                   |
|-----------|------------|-------------------|
| 9 reams . | 84 copies  | Overage 36 sheets |
| 12 reams  | 112 copies | Overage 48 sheets |
| 16 reams  | 150 copies | Overage 20 sheets |

The last overage would suffice for the for the supplementary printing. The number 150 agrees wonderfully well with the results from paper b and the estimate from the existing copies.



I think, thus, that it may be proven to be fairly acceptable. From this would result 120 copies in the original edition, and thirty of the supplementary printing.<sup>1/</sup>

For calculation of the probable time span of the printing of the Bible, the observation made above (see page 66 ff.) is fundamental, that the composition of the individual work sections were printed in regular rotation, that there thus existed in the printing a four-pronged rotation corresponding to the four main sections. Whether this continued after the breaking off of the two additional compositor's sections, or whether a second press was set up and the work was printed in two three-pronged series must remain undetermined. More probably the latter, although there is nothing in the printing to indicate such a second press.

Hupp set the work load of a press, according to a competent judgment (which even assumed only eight pulls in an hour), at 100 pulls for a work day.<sup>2/</sup> This is too little in any case, if also, as is later the case, one worker takes care of the laying on and the removal of the sheet, another the inking, and the first the pulling of the press. Through such a division of the work, in spite of the fussy fastening of the sheet, and so forth, the load must have been larger, so that the previously assumed production of nearly 200 pages also could very well have been produced in one day. More quite definitely not, and so the possibility of printing right after



the back side of a leaf, the front side of the next was not utilized, a possibility which prior to the middle pages of a quire, would have halted the work and which would have placed also a greater demand on the supply of type.

The largest work load is that in section B with perhaps 140 leaves or 280 pages. If we assume - we can naturally deal only with quite approximate considerations - that in the first half of the work period a fourfold, in the second a threefold rotation was observed, there appears a total period of  $4 \times 140$  plus  $3 \times 140$  equals 980 days of work. Of work days there were, as a result of the many special fast days, certainly not more than 275 in the year (even in the eighteenth century printers took forty free days in addition to the usual Sundays and holidays for themselves) so the time may be estimated at three and one half years.

One will object to this that the compositor would not be adequately employed by a period of four or three days per page. To assign to one typesetter two sections was in itself very possible, but we saw that, for example, small differences in practice were present between A and B in spite of extensive and noteworthy agreement, which prevent this. Hupp (III, pages 124 ff.) assumed also for the typesetter a daily work load of one page, and that may occur with a clear copy. However, if the typesetter need not be concerned with the solution of text problems (see on this above, page 96-97), still it is necessary





at least to calculate on the proof reading, and finally there falls on him the redistribution of the composition, which is difficult on account of the multiplicity of the pieces. Hupp also remarks that the typesetter was also possibly employed on the press and recognizes that the length of time to Gutenberg's settlement of account allows us to suppose an essentially longer period of work than the fifty weeks calculated by him.

For a briefer estimate than three and a half years, we could certainly bring forth the statement of the Helmasperger Notarial Instrument concerning the payments demanded of Gutenberg by Fust for the common work. Against the total amount of 800 gulden sued for by Fust, Gutenberg said that he (Fust) had obligated himself to pay annually  $\frac{1}{3}$  300 gulden for 'expenses'. Had he really adhered to this  $\frac{2}{3}$ , then the time for the job can only have amounted to two and two-thirds years. But the claimed interest of 140 gulden does not agree with the amount of time. If in the first year 300, in the second 600, and 800 in the eight months of the third year were charged interest at 6 %, this would give only 86 gulden. Thus, either the work or the payment was stretched out over a longer time, or there must have passed between the completion of the work and the entry of the complaint thirteen months in which the wanting fifty-four gulden interest could accumulate.

If we use this same calculation for the previously reckoned three and a half years work period, under the assumption



that the 800 gulden were divided equally over the period (in this case, 230 gulden for the full year, in the last half year 110) then in the first year interest of 13.8 was earned on 230, in the second from 460, 27.6, in the third year from 690, 41.4, in the first half of the fourth year from 800, 24, altogether a total of 106.8 gulden. It is self-evident that this is only a schematic calculation, but also it shows that Fust's first instalment payment must be earlier than this. According to this, one may dare assume with some probability that the printing had begun one year after the conclusion of the contract, in the first months of 1451. Then it could have been completed in the summer or fall of 1454.

This is the time at which the printed indulgence forms must have been produced (the first known completion of one such was on 22 October 1454); as the first typographic reproduction of the small business document undoubtedly an extremely significant step forward; respecting their origin, however, there is a still not entirely solved problem of Gutenberg research, which concerns us here only so far as it is connected with the printing of the Bible. Zedler <sup>1/</sup> has produced very noteworthy grounds for the idea that the (30 line) U-form, although it was to be used after the (31 line) V-form, still it was earlier and was originated by Gutenberg himself, while the text type of the other exhibits undeniable reminiscences of Peter Schoeffer. Now, however, the distinctive letter U, which we earlier held



to be identical with the Bible type, is at least partially only a copy of it, and it is hard to understand that Gutenberg should have put himself to this trouble, if the original type was available to him. <sup>1/</sup> That it, however, had been taken from him already by then is not probable, since Fust sued afterward also for the first 800 gulden, thus can not have recovered the pledged printing equipment by the time. However that may be, in any case the printing of the indulgence, if it was done in the Bible work shop, had employed the punch cutter and the typescaster more than the typesetter and the printer, and for this reason can not have been of significant influence on the duration of the printing of the Bible.

This would be more likely the case with the Donatuses, possibly printed concurrently with the Bible. Under consideration come the two 33 line editions in the Bible type, which one can designate after the known fragments as the Oxford (de Ricci 36 = Berlin 10<sup>2/</sup>) and the Parisian (de Ricci 37 and 38 = Berlin 11 and 11<sup>a</sup>) copies. On their twelve leaves, each of these editions includes perhaps as much setting as seven and one half leaves of the Bible. The condition of the type is the same as in the later parts of the Bible printing, but in the setters' practices, the Donatuses show marked variations; numerous mistakes against the rules of combining the letters, in Parisian even more numerous than in Oxford, the fluctuations in the c- and t- orthography, the writing of vel (in the Bible uel





in Parisian next to ut (as in the Bible) vt, and the imperfect justification of the lines. These mistakes against the observed practices of the Bible typesetters make it appear very doubtful that the Donatuses are to be attributed to one of them. They recur besides in the additional 35 line editions, which are recognizable through the imprinted Psaler-Lombards as productions of the Fust-Schoeffer workshop, as in the 35 line imprint designed by Peter Schoeffer alone. In this matter, the Oxford and Parisian editions are also to be criticized.

Further, it remains uncertain whether we may see traces of a secondary work in a weak type impression which is visible on the outer margin of I, 161<sup>V</sup> of the Paris vellum copy. Apparently, the leaf has come inadvertantly into contact with an inked setting which has left behind traces of twelve line beginnings. They are unfortunately too weak to permit recognition of syllables or even of words (on some lines there is scaracely present an indication of the first letters), but still actually enough to determine that they do not belong to the text of the surrounding Bible leaves, also not to leaf 166 which is conjugate with 161, or to the concurrently printed pages of other typesetters' sections. Also, this does not seem to be a Donatus text. Thus there exists the possibility that the 'work of the books' had extended already at the beginning of the printing of the Bible (the leaf under consideration belongs to the time immediately after the increase of the edition) even to other





smaller pieces of printing.

First quite at the end of the printing of the Bible, or in the period after its conclusion, belongs the only work which we can attribute with assurance to the Bible press. To be sure, our knowledge of it rests on a single leaf now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which, moreover, Delisle<sup>1/</sup> described, undoubtedly correctly, as a remnant of a *Psalterium Liturgicum cum canticis*. It was the first edition of a type of book afterwards repeated in countless editions, but which has been subjected to so much use that only a few exemplars remain. In this way also the almost complete disappearance of Gutenberg imprints is to be explained. The leaf in hand contains, on the recto side, the *Cantica Isaie, Ezechie, Anne* (for *Feria 2-4*), on the verso side, *Canticum Moisi* (*Feria 5*) and the larger half of *Canticum Abacuc* (*Feria 6*). The remaining *Cantica*, the *Te Deum* and the *Symbolum Athenasii* would still have required something over two leaves, the completed publication is to be estimated at perhaps 34 leaves. The composition in two columns with 42 lines agrees entirely in dimensions with the printing of the Bible, the space between the columns belongs to the wider variant. The combinations of the letters are correctly observed, the lines are justified according to the same rules (empty spaces at the punctuation) as in the Bible then being printed, and the spellings -tio, ut, Uel, uel also agree. The printing is economically arranged. The liturgical annotations (*gloris*,



Feria 2 ff.) which should ordinarily be in red, are printed in black. Presumably, the headlines of the Psalms were so handled also, and as for the Songs of Praise, the capitals of the Psalms were printed, not reserved for the rubricator, as in the Psalter of the Bible. Of course, the text is not printed according to this, but after a special manuscript. So far as is possible to judge from the facsimile, the somewhat worn condition of the type is from the ends of the typesetters' sections of the Bible. The printing here either followed after the completion of the (Bible) or was concurrent with the supplementary printing, and so filled part of the time which seems to exist between the work on the Bible and the suit of Fust.

What information dealing with the matter of expenses that is at present put at our disposal through the Helmasperger Notarial Instrument is such that we are compelled to limit the discussion to the printing of the Bible. For that alone is some evidence available to us, and for the other associated works, like the printing of the Psalter, nothing of relevance is present. We can not achieve a twentieth part, more or less, of accuracy in this question, in which we are still in great measure dependent upon conjecture. To be sure, Zedler<sup>1/</sup> and Hupp<sup>2/</sup>, the latter on the basis of previously mentioned commendable demonstration of prices, have made very individually prepared and determined public statements, which appear on closer examination to be untenable. Both think they must hold



themselves within the 750 gulden which Fust, in his oath (in addition to the first 800), explained that he himself had borrowed at interest.<sup>1/</sup> Zedler's expenses are as follows:-

|                                   |                  |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| Quarters and maintenance of staff | 300 gulden       |
| Vellum for 16 copies              | 192 gulden       |
| 38 reams of paper for 50 copies   | 38 gulden        |
| Staff pay                         | 150 gulden       |
| Shop rent                         | 50 gulden        |
| Printer's ink, etc.               | <u>20 gulden</u> |
| Total                             | 750 gulden       |

Hupp, who lets Gutenberg's personal loan of 800 gulden be consumed entirely in the making of the Psalter type, includes the cost of the type materials for the Bible in the expenses for the common work:-

|                                                             |                  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Cutting of 280 punches                                      | 38 gulden        |
| Punching of 280 matrices                                    | 8 gulden         |
| Pouring of 400 kg. of type                                  | 31 gulden        |
| Construction of four presses                                | 60 gulden        |
| Maintenance of four typesetters<br>for 50 weeks             | 77 gulden        |
| Salary of four typesetters for<br>50 weeks                  | 50 gulden        |
| Maintenance of four typesetters<br>for 34 weeks             | 52 gulden        |
| Salary of four typesetters<br>for 34 weeks                  | 34 gulden        |
| Vellum, 2438 large hides for<br>thirty copies <sup>1/</sup> | 208 gulden       |
| Paper, 102 reams for 150 copies <sup>2/</sup>               | 152 gulden       |
| House rent                                                  | 20 gulden        |
| Printing ink, etc.                                          | <u>20 gulden</u> |
| Total                                                       | 750 gulden       |

Among these charges, one of the largest is that for printing paper. About the prices for paper relatively numerous records are known to us, mostly, unfortunately, from somewhat





later times, as, with increasing production, prices fell, and only very few details of size and quality. If in 1454/55, 1 1/2 gulden was paid for a ream of the 'guten' paper by the prince-bishop's court in Wurzburg,<sup>1/</sup> this would have been still of the small chancery format, which can not be compared with the twice as large and twice as strong, thus four times as valuable, Bible format (Royal format). This price evidence undercuts the estimate of Hupp, which is to be challenged as too low. Also, in 1487 the Nuremberg council bought from Koberger a ream of royal paper for 2 1/2 gulden.<sup>2/</sup> Luckily, we have a witness pertinent to this relationship, with respect to time, place, format and quality, in the Mainz Bible manuscript already noted above on pages 6-7, now U. B. Giessen Ms 653. In the calculation of the costs for the manuscript,<sup>3/</sup> the paper is charged at 6 1/2 gulden. This charge was made for 468 leaves, equal to 234 sheets, thus about half a ream. It is also to be supposed that Fust, as a result of large purchases from the paper mill, obtained a somewhat lower price,<sup>4/</sup> yet one dare not go below about 9 - 10 gulden, even with the low assumption of eighty copies - 54 reams, equal to 486 to 540 gulden - there can be no talk of a defrayal of the costs out of the 750 to 800 gulden paid by Fust to Gutenberg. The contrary assumptions of Zedler and Hupp also contradict the words of the source 'das Johannes Fust ym jerlichen dryhundert gulden vor kosten geben und auch gesinde lone, husszinsse, permet, papier, dinte etc. verlegen solt.' This statement



is explained too precisely with 'Lebensunterhalt.' It indicates, pro sumptu, the expenses which Gutenberg had to bear as head of the printing business. Under this surely the maintenance of personnel formed the principal item, for according to the practices of the time, lodging and board must be provided in the home of the entrepreneur. However, there was included also other housekeeping and other small expenses, which Fust had not taken on himself. To itemize this separately seems to me as impossible as unnecessary, for we know the approximate total cost, which through Gutenberg's payment of account (at the time of Fust's affidavit, it apparently had not been made) really would have undergone no great change. It is necessary only to note that the work force of four typesetters and four pressmen (or six setters and two pressmen) is certainly to be regarded as too low - at least there is wanting subordinate staff for assistance of all kinds, nor is Gutenberg's own support considered - further, that the time for the job is not calculated at 34 to 50 weeks, but at three to four years. If, thus, the annual support of one person is calculated by Hupp at 20 gulden, which I view as too high, still this amounts to a very significant share of the money given to Gutenberg.

The item for workers' wages was naturally affected by the size of the staff and the duration of the job. For the higher employees, Hupp calculated, also here on the basis of careful reflection, an annual salary of 13 gulden. Even if



one subtracts something from this, one will really not reduce the total cost of salaries for the entire period of work to less than 300 gulden.

Hupp has gathered some figures (III, pp. 117 ff.) for the 'house rent.' His charge of twenty gulden is very likely too low, for the rooms in which the six printing sections must have been kept separate and in good order, and in which an extensive household was to be maintained at the same time, could not be too small. They would be used, moreover for the entire period of the work and perhaps still thereafter as store-rooms. Thirty to forty gulden as total expenses for this purpose, therefore, seems not too high.

Hupp thought that he could make significant reductions as compared with his first assumptions about the cost of vellum (III, pp. 132 ff.), in that not two but four sheets of the Bible format might be cut out of a large hide. Several notices originating at some time around 1454 seem to agree in giving the price of 100 hides at eight to ten gulden. If 400 sheets were cut out from that amount, then in fact the vellum would not be dearer than paper, which surely is not correct. I think, therefore, still that we must return to the equation, one hide equals two sheets.<sup>1/</sup> The thirty-five copies, which I assume, would require 11,340, or inclusive of misprints, about 11,400 sheets, thus 5,700 hides, at the value of 456 gulden.

It is noteworthy that under the material which must be





paid for by Fust the ink, that is, printer's ink, is named, which certainly could not be bought in the trade, but must be made by the printer himself. The charge of twenty gulden, which Hupp has accepted from Zedler and which we also will employ, is quite arbitrary.

Accordingly, we could list together as the costs which Fust had to bear, with all reservations, the following:-

|                                |              |    |
|--------------------------------|--------------|----|
| To Gutenberg for running costs | 800 gulden   |    |
| Salaries                       | 300 gulden   |    |
| House rent                     | 40 gulden    |    |
| Vellum for 35 copies           | 450 gulden   |    |
| Paper for 150 copies           | 900 gulden   |    |
| Printer's ink                  | 20 gulden    |    |
| Total                          | 2,510 gulden | 1/ |

On the other side, Gutenberg brought to the undertaking his invention, his work skills and, as material value, the typographical equipment which was pledged against the loan of 800 gulden. It is not impossible that these 'tools' already contained the Bible type, that the work for the Psalter was already far advanced or finished - in any case, the loan was to be covered by the profits from the Bible. We must thus assign this to production costs. Then we get for general expenses for the 185 copies, 1960 gulden, or not quite eleven gulden for each piece, in addition for vellum 13, thus the full cost of 24 gulden, and for the paper 6, thus the full cost 17 gulden. If one wished - and one must figure in the way - to cover the costs with the sale of 75 copies, then one must deliver them, unrubricated and in loose gatherings, at 34 gulden.





The price dare not be much higher, if a manuscript Bible on vellum in four volumes, thus surely calligraphic, rubricated and bound, was sold in Strassburg in 1450 for sixty gulden. 1/ Unfortunately, we do not know the time from which the valuation of 100 gulden for the really prettily decorated vellum Widener copy (above, number 45) comes. We have a definite measure also in the price of forty-one gulden, which was paid in Alterburg for the present Gotha paper copy of the Catholicon of 1460 (rubricated and bound).

It is entirely unknown to us whether the sale of the Bible was made on a joint account, or, whether, which is more probable, the copies had been divided between the partners, be it in equal shares, or be it according to some numerical proportion. The different forms of signing the sheets perhaps permit us to conclude such a division. The less numerous existing copies with the letter signing would then presumably come from Gutenberg's share. He was probably not successful in negotiations with the more experienced businessman, Fust, in getting enough copies to eliminate the debt of over 1,000 gulden, and apparently also no other moneylender would assume this negotiation. The really inherently improbable statement of Chrn. Gottl. Schwarz that in the catalog of the Carthusians in Mainz a paper copy is described as a gift of Gutenberg and Fust has definitely been proven in error by K. A. Schaab, *Geschichte der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst*, Bd. 1, Mainz



1830, pp. 264 ff. That the sale did not go quickly at first, one can perhaps conclude from the fact that after the entry of Heinrich Cremer of 1456 (copy 24) dating first appears from 1461 ( nos. 7 and 11). Still a new printing must have seemed profitable not only to the printer of the 36 line Bible and to Johann Mentelin, but also to Fust and Schoeffer. Already in 1459, the latter had completed the type for the Bible of 1462, as the colophon of the Durandus shows.

The nearest purchasers, whether from Gutenberg or from Fust, were understandably the cloisters and churches in Mainz, which unfortunately were robbed completely at a later time of these possessions: the above named Carthusian copy (Num. 1, Aschaffenburg and perhaps also 29, British Museum, vellum), the Benedictine of St. Jacob (23, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, vellum, and possibly also 60, Mainz, vellum) and the Cathedral (K. A. Schaab, Geschichte der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst, Vol. 1, Mainz 1830, p. 224). Bound in Mainz, besides the Cremer copy (Paris B. Nat. paper), the copy located very early in Ostheim in Hanau, the copy in Laubach (6) and that of C. W. Dyson Perrins (34). As owners of the Bible, we find the Mainz neighbor, the Cistercian monastery of Erbach in Rheingau (32, Manchester), further west Trier (13,14), which also was the place of discovery of the Donatus in the 42 line Bible type, thus surely it had stood in special business relations with Fust. South of Mainz, copies were demonstrably in



in Heilbronn (33, Oxford before 1471), Offenberg (39, New York, Gen. Theol. Sem.), St. Blasien (12, St. Paul), and presumably Basel (58, Fragment Freiburg). Easterly and south-easterly, in the St. Leonhart Monastery in Frankfurt (3), in the Scottish monastery St. Jakob in Wurzburg (30, Brit. Mus. pap.), in the Augustinian Monastery Rebdorf near Eichstadt (45, disappeared: from the vicinity came also the Augsburg fragment 54), further in the Upper Bavarian monastery Andechs (11, München), and Rottenbuch (17, St. Petersburg). A copy apparently from the beginning in private ownership (15, Wien) we meet in the commencement of the sixteenth century in Tirol. When the Melk copy (10) reached there is indeterminable. In middle Germany, Erfurt, which stood in close ecclesiastical relation to Mainz, must have been a special sales place for the Bible. Not less than four of the existing copies were bound there.<sup>1</sup>/two by the unnamed 'Binder of the Fulda Bible', the same (4) and the Ellsworth copy (40, which early belonged to the Dominican church in Erfurt), one (28, Eton) by Johannes Fogel, latest 1460, the fourth by his successor (7, Leipzig U. B., vellum, 1461 in the Franciscan monastery in Lengensalza). The copy of which a small fragment has been found in Eichsfeld (55, Berlin. Staatsbiblio.) surely passed through Erfurt; in contrast, the copy from a south Hannover monastery which is now Göttingen (5) certainly went by another way. The Huntington copy (41) was bound very early at Leipzig. Surely also the erstwhile Altenberger copy, now





Leipzig (8) passed through there. Number 44 (Morgan pap. II) was in Saxony and the Breslau and Dresden fragments (55,57) indicate the same place. Lübeck was demonstrably during the sixties (of the century) a transit point to the Baltic countries for Fust and Schoeffer publications.<sup>1/</sup> This business relationship certainly must have developed somewhat earlier. The Pelplin copy (16) was bound in Lübeck, which had gone from here in any case by the sea route to Prussia. Through Lübeck the present Copenhagen copy (18) would also have passed to Holstein (Bordesholm or Cismar) and in a similar manner the copy whose remains are held in Stockholm (62) passed to Sweden.

French-Burgundian dowries reflect the copies 9 (Leipzig Buch.-Mus.) and 42 (Morgan, vellum). In Utrecht was located early copy number 45 (Widener), which its owner disposed of by will in 1471. Two copies have had their homes in England (33 Lambeth, and 67, Brit. Mus. Fragment), Number 27 (Edinburgh), perhaps even in Scotland. When the two copies 21 (Burgos) and 22 (Seville) reached Spain remains in doubt.



## Footnotes and References

- P. 2-1 Gutenbergs früheste Druckpraxis (Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten, Heft 4), Berlin 1890, pp. 87 ff.
- P. 2-2 Gottfr. Zedler, Die Bamberger Pfisterdrucke und die 36 zeilige Bibel (Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft X. XI.), Mainz 1911. Pp. 91 ff. Zedler argues categorically that Gutenberg was the printer of the 36 line Bible.
- P. 3-1 Facsimiled, however quite unsatisfactorily, in Dziatko, Satz und Druck der 42 zeiligen Bibel (Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten, Heft 15), Leipzig 1902, p. 104.
- P. 3-2 Compare especially Dziatko, Beiträge zur Gutenbergfrage (Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten, Heft 2), Berlin 1889, pp. 1-46, - Karl Schorbach in der (Mainzer) Festschrift z. 500 jährigen Geburtstage von Johann Gutenberg Mainz 1900, pp. 196-211 (= 23, Beiheft zum Zbl. f. Bibliotheksw., Leipzig 1900, pp. 256-278). - Zedler, Gutenberg-Forschungen, Leipzig 1901, pp. 61 ff. und Das Helmaspergersche Notariatsinstrument und die 42 zeilige Bibel, im Zbl. f. Bibliotheksw. 24, Leipzig 1907, pp. 193 ff. - Rud. Stammler, Die Rechsthändel des Johann Gutenberg, in der Festgabe der Jur. Fakultät Halle-Wittenberg für Wilh. v. Brünneck, Halle 1912, pp. 17-23. - Otto Hupp, Zum Streit um das Missale speciale Constantiense (Hupp III) Strassburg, pp. 106 ff.
- P. 6-1 Hupp III, p. 21.
- P. 6-2 Thus it is noted in the second volume of the Bible of Gaesdonk (Berl Ms. theol. fol. 69) that it was completed in 1460, after a monk of the cloister had begun it four years before. The entire Bible was first finished in 1464..
- P. 6-3 Frequently the Psalter and Gospels are lacking, because they were at hand in special copies.
- P. 7-1 Compare Franz Falk, Bibelstudien, Bibelhandschriften und Bibeldrucke in Mainz vom achten Jahrhundert bis Gegenwart, Mainz, 1901. Falk has missed two of the above named Mainz Bible manuscripts from the Gutenberg period, probably because he did not recognize the Mainz bindings, which are certain proofs of their origin.
- P. 7-2 Only the letter I, as a rule without blank space in the text, was relegated entirely to the margin.



- P. 8-1 Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, Paris 1893, pp. 331 ff. records 212 variants of contents and ordering among, among them No. 93 as norm of the 13. to 16. centuries (with Esdras III and IV, No 94), and names manuscripts he investigated, but does not give the dates. This can be completed from his list in his treatise *Les préfaces jointes aux livres de la Bible dans les manuscrits de la Vulgate* in *Mémoires présentés p div. Savants a L'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Ser. I, T. ii, 2, Paris 1904 pp. 1-78 (List pp. 73 ff.).
- P. 8-2 Berger, No. 94..In the Aschaffenburg copy (under No. 1) the two books deemed offensive have been forcibly removed.
- P. 8-3 The frequently expressed thought that Gutenberg would have feigned manuscript manufacture is rejected.
- P. 11-1 *Catalogue des livres imprimés sur vélin de la Bibliothèque du Roi* Paris, T. 1, 1822 pp. 17 ff; T. 6, 1828, pp. 3, 146 ff.
- P. 11-2 *Geschichte der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst*, Vol. 1 Mainz 1830, pp. 270-275.
- P. 11-3 *Ibid.* Vol. 3, Berlin 1886, pp. 871-879.
- P. 11-4 *Incunabla biblica*, London 1892, pp. 4-6.
- P. 11-5 *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des ersten Buchdrucks* (Festschrift zur Gutenbergfeier, hersg. von der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin 1909, pp. 2-9.
- P. 11-6 *Catalogue raisonné des premières impressions de Mayence* (Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft VIII.IX), Mainz 1911, pp. 28-36.
- P. 27-1 In one initial (Facs. in Steffens, see above), the name Petrus, perhaps that of the illuminator, Kentenich (Trierische Chronik, N. F. 2, Trier 1906, page 146) would identify him with the manuscript painter Petrus, who, in 1508, executed commissions for S. Maximin, however, the difference in time is certainly too great. In the year 1569, an entry F. Jodocus, on the last leaf: Kahl, John. Bapt. (18/19 Jahrhundert).
- P. 27-2 Wyttenbach's entry: 'This second part of the Mainz Bible, printed by Gutenberg, I rescued in September 1818, as this most rare printed work was on the point of being completely destroyed.' The leaves first obtained and now reunited apparently served as wrappers for school books.





- P. 29-1 Information from the library, June 1914.
- P. 30-1 According to a friendly communication from the library and pictures sent with it
- P. 31-1 My own notes, supplemented by K. Christ.
- P. 31-2 Communication from the library, with addition of copies notes.
- P. 32-1 In Schwenke's papers is found the following: (21) 397: 286 mm. I, 11-32, 129- 158 in the second impression. Page headings and chapter numbers in red. Beginnings of chapters alternating red and blue, mostly simple. Initials of varying height, ornamented in many colors. The margins of II, 1 in gold. Binding, wood with stamped leather covers, 16th century. The copy came to the library about 1870, when the monastic libraries were expropriated by the state. (22) 358:269 mm. Very well preserved. The roman chapter numbers and the ornamental chapter beginnings red. Initials up to 25 mm. in different colors. Binding of the 19th century. The copy came from the faculty house of the Jesuits in Seville, whose stamp it bears on the first leaf and came to the library at its founding in 1845. E. C.
- P. 34-1 According to a friendly communication from Prof. Heidenheimer in Mainz there appears a Heynricus Albch alterista altaris s. Michaelis Cenobij veteris celle (Altenmünster) as signatory of a brotherhood letter, dated 2. fer. proxima post Jubilate 1427 (Stadtarchiv Mainz, Urkunden. Stadt 1760), most probably identical with Henricus Cremer. The seal on the document bears the inscription 'sigillum heynrici albch'. The form Albch occurs also in family names (from the Rhine village Albig).
- P. 40-1 Letter from Gerard Meerman of the 29th of March 1770, published by Emil Jacobs in the Zbl. f. Bibliotheksw. 27, Leipzig 1910, page 159. M. must have received the information himself about the sale of the Bible, of which he had spoken in Origines Typographicae, Hague C6m. 1765, I, 151 'imprimée sur velin en deuz vol.' from the Carthusians from France in Mainz. However, in the sale (Il n'y que deux ans, thus 1768) the copy must still have been in three volumes. For a Carthusian copy on paper, see Number 1 above.
- P. 41-1 Listed in the Cat. of Books pr. in the 15th century now in the Brit. Mus. P. 1, London 1908, page 17. - E. C.





- P. 44-1 Friendly communication from the owner, with a photograph of the binding.
- P. 45-1 The same stamps appear in Manuscript 83 of the Mainz Stadtbibliothek, from the former Universitätsbibliothek.
- P. 47-1 According to an obliging communication of Mr. Gabriel Wells, he has acquired this copy recently. (New York) He will now divide it into parts, whole books as well as single leaves, with a preface by A. Edward Newton. Genesis is now owned by The Reverend Roderick Terry, Newport (Rhode Island, U.S.A.) E. C.
- P. 48-1 Additional information was not available.
- P. 50-1 Friendly communication from the owner.
- P. 51-1 This determination is made from a rubbing sent to me by R. Hoe, 1900.
- P. 51-2 A photographic copy of this interesting inscription as well as further information about the copy was unfortunately not to be had, because the copy itself at the time was not in the custody of the library in St. Gabriel. The presumption that A. D. signifies Anno 1500 has little probability in itself.
- P. 52-1 According to S. de Ricci this copy would have reached the Universitätsbibliothek in Mainz about 1784, was taken from this place by Merlin de Thionville and finally reached Horn and others. The transfer from the Nostitch possession to the U-B Mainz is entirely unlikely. It arises from a combination of two sources. (compare No. 48 below).
- P. 55-1 Cat. of MSS and early pr. books now forming portion of the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan. (2) Early pr. books, Vol. 1, London 1907, page 9. E. C.
- P. 56-1 That is, Soest:- the Kloster Marienburg was like Marienbaum, a nunnery of the Brigittines. E. C.
- P. 56-2 Communication from Prof. H. Degring.
- P. 56-3 The following list varies from S. de Ricci's 'exemplaires disparus': No. 45, Gaibach (In Friedr. Karl Gottlob Hirsching, Versuch einer Beschreibung sehensw. Bibl. Deutschland, II, Erlangen 1787 is concerned with the Bible of 1462); No. 47, Prämonstratsenser in Weisnau (the notice in G. W. Zapf, Reisen in einige Klöster



- P. 56-3  
cont'd Schwabens, Erlangen 1786, pages 191 ff. seems to refer to another printing of the Bible; No. 48 is above No. 38; No. 51, Antwerpen, Frères Gasparoli 1798 (the statement of P. Lambinet's *Recherches ... sur l'origine de l'imprimerie, Brux. [1798]*, page 131 in connection with the description of the Paris copy, that he had seen at Gabr. Gasparoli's 'une édition à-peu-près semblable' on paper, indicates rather differences in the edition); No. 63 = 37 above.
- P. 59-1 The fragments are of interest as witnesses of previously existing lost copies. For this purpose, the locations of the prints and their ornamentation is given as far as possible. Still neither in these things, nor in the listing of the fragments, is completeness sought. For a large part of the information, I am thankful for friendly communications from the owners.
- P. 67-1 See above Nos. 20, 33.
- P. 67-2 See Nos. 11, 17, 30.
- P. 67-3 See Nos. 7, 8, 40.
- P. 67-4 Notes on the Latin Bible of 42 lines, 1455, in *Bibliographica II*, London 1896, pages 333 ff.
- P. 67-5 Gutenbergs früheste Druckpraxis (Sammlung Bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten, Heft 4,). Berlin 1890, pp. 96 ff.
- P. 68-1 Erg. Bd. Leaves 1-32, 34-79, 80<sup>v</sup>. Why I, 32<sup>v</sup> and II, 16<sup>v</sup> were repeated is unfortunately not given in Schwenke's papers. E. C.
- P. 68-2 Erg.-Bd. leaves 82-91<sup>r</sup>. The pages from I, 1-10 were reset after the second, 130<sup>r</sup> after the first printing.
- P. 69-1 Leaf I, 34 and the conjugate 37 are here single leaves at the fold. The first is of thicker vellum than the attached one.
- P. 69-2 Column a, line 38 reads d'aserto in copies 24, 25, 27, 28, in contrast deserto in the rest. Presumably, however, conversely, the later proof text was changed last, especially as d'serto contained a false s-form
- P. 71-1 The end of the Old Testament and the beginning of the New Testament, of course, offer an exception to this, not at the end of a quire.





- P. 72-1 A drawing or more exact statement on the third form of the watermark 'a' is unfortunately not found in Schwenke's papers, so that only two forms could be pictured in the table of watermarks. E. C.
- P. 72-2 Only in three cases from over 600 does 'b' form the outer leaf of a quire, 'c' does so in no case.
- P. 75-1 Milchsack had expressed thoughts against this high number of presses already in Zbl. f. Bibliotheksw. 18, Leipzig 1901. Pages 172 ff.
- P. 77-1 See concerning this Heinr. Wallau: Gutenberg, Techniker und Künstler, in 4. Jahresbericht der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, Mainz 1905, and in Sonderausgabe; compare also the same writer's Technische Untersuchung der Weltgerichts-Druckes und seiner Typen, in Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft III, Mainz 1904, pages 21 ff. Otto Hupp offers a completely different point of view in his three treatises: I, Ein Missale speciale, Vorläufer des Psalterium von 1457, München-Regensburg 1898; II, Gutenbergs erste Drucke, the same 1902; III. Zum Streit um das Missale speciale Constantiense, Strassburg, 1917. According to him, Gutenberg did not start from connected written letters, but from single letters as they belonged to punches cut in the workshops of goldsmiths. He held, therefore, the type of the still not explained Missale speciale, which does not show letter relationship to the Donat- and Kalendar- and the Bible type, as the primitive form of the small Psalter type, to be the oldest type of Gutenberg.
- P. 77-2 Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft: I, Mainz 1902. Table 1.
- P. 77-3 Facsimile of two pages in: Fünfzehn Jahre Königliche und Staatsbibliothek, A. v. Harnack überreicht, Berlin 1921, tables 4 and 5.
- P. 77-4 This consideration is so obvious that one need not accept the hypothesis of Zedler (Guttenberg-Forschungen, Leipzig 1901. pages 27 ff.: Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft XII.XIII, Mainz 1913, pages 86 ff.) that Gutenberg had manufactured the second smaller type with the purpose of printing a missal, for which two type sizes were required, which, moreover, had to hold a common line. This plan could not be executed on account of the difficulties of red printing, or as Zedler observed in his second publication, as a





P. 77-4 result of the prohibition of the archbishop of Mainz.  
 Cont'd.  
 P. 78-1 It is really self-evident and is also assumed in the court decision that the 'gezüge' were directly related to the printing undertaking. In spite of this, Hupp III, pages 110 ff. wants to prove 'by numbers' that we are not to understand the type of the 42 line Bible, but of the Psalter.

P. 78-2 Was hat Gutenberg erfunden? Beilage zum 19. Jahresbericht der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, Mainz 1921, and as a separate, Frankfurt a. M. 1921.

P. 80-1 With the exception of v, which was placed only at the beginning of a word, and in the Bible type also of the w, which here was used only in the Gospels and songs, in both cases in the abutting form.

P. 81-2 For the reader not familiar with Latin paleographie, be it remarked: that — signifies in general the abbreviation of m or n (over co or to the endings cio and tio, dns = dominus); ~ = r, er; ~ = ra, ? = ur. Especially frequent are the abbreviations with p and q; p = pre (prae); p = pri, p = per, par, por (tpe = tempore); p = pro; q = que (quae); q = quam; q = quo; q = quod. Further b = bus; + = rum; p = ser, and the special signs ? = con, z = et, ? = us.

For greater clarity here, the German text is added:-

\* Für die mit der lateinischen Paläographie nicht vertrauten Leser sei bemerkt, daß — im allgemeinen den Ausfall von m oder n (über co oder to die Endung cio und tio, dns dominus) bedeutet; ~ = r, er; ~ = ra, ? = ur. Besonders häufig sind die Kürzungen mit p und q: p = pre (prae); p = pri, p = per, par, por (tpe = tempore); p = pro; q = que (quae); q = quam; q = quo; q = quod. Ferner b = bus; + = rum; p = ser, und die besonderen Zeichen ? = con, z = et, ? = us. —

P. 81-2 Wilh. Meyer, Die Buchstaben-Verbindung der sogenannten gothischen Schrift (abhandlungen d. Gött. Ges. d. Wissensch., Phil.-Hist. Kl., N. F. Bd. 1, Nr. 6), Berlin 1897.

P. 82-1 See above page 77 and notes. Of the genuine ligatures of this Donatus printing, different ones are conjunctions of half letters in the 36 line Bible type, which, however, evidently first occur in the period after the 42 line Bible.

P. 84-1 Compare below the calculation of the work time and the costs.



- P. 85-1 This objection Mori rejects (loc. cit. pages 30 ff.). He assumes that the Bible type was cast on the 42 line shank from the start, the ascender parts thus being already too high. The height wanting in the shank might be adjusted by means of two slips of paper, one of which might be omitted on page 5<sup>v</sup>, the other also on 6<sup>r</sup>. This is based on the erroneous assumption that the 41 line Bible shank was between the 40 line and the 42 line height. In reality, it differed from the latter in such a small amount (1/20 mm.) that for this even the thinnest paper then available was too thick. Also, it remains unclear why the insertion should be so unnecessarily thick. Particularly, the assumption that by mistake a number of letters were cast too high on the shank, or their bodies were made too small, has little to recommend it.
- P. 85-2 One is reminded of his business with gem polishing in Strassburg. For the proof pages it sufficed to revise the set-up, perhaps line by line. The remaining type could be reduced to the 42 line shank height without an intermediate grade.
- P. 86-1 This was ascribed to Gutenberg, to be sure, by Hupp and others
- P. 86-2 Compare below, pages 96 and 115 and notes. On other, more psychological grounds, A. W. Pollard (Library, n. s. 8, London 1907, pages 69 ff.) sets forth the hypothesis that the Bible of 1454/55 was printed by Schoeffer after Gutenberg had proven himself inadequate for the organisation of so large a work.
- P. 88-1 After some sports on leaves 2 and 3.
- P. 88-2 This difference in practice was noticed also by Wilh, Meyer (loc. cit. pp. 11 ff.) long ago.
- P. 89-1 The orthography ut and vel is also in the 26 line Donatus in the first Gutenberg type, while the older printing set vt and vel. Compare pages 114 and 116.
- P. 89-2 Section B has hostium, while A set ostium from the beginning.
- P..90-1 The numbers set in parentheses signify the leaves printed concurrently in section A.
- P. 90-2 The frequent use of the abbreviation *cūque* does not allow exact recognition of the beginning of the new orthography everywhere.





- Page 90-3 Here also the abbreviation gra is obstructive of determination.
- Page 91-1 The positions do not coincide quite exactly (according to the synchronization of 6<sup>r</sup> and 132<sup>v</sup>). Still other, if slight, differences oppose identification of setters A and B.
- Page 93-1 My earlier assumption of the smallest space which could be set between letters provided with kerns, I can no longer maintain. The relevant clues in the printing are explained, no doubt, from the margins remaining from the casting.
- Page 95-1 From such a misunderstood reading of the chapter transition on leaf I, 247, which is met in the printer of the 36 line Bible, Dziatzko (Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten, Heft 4, Berlin 1890, p. 93 and table) impressively demonstrated that the Bible is a reprint of the 42 line Bible.
- Page 96-1 The 'etwan' (= formerly) is striking. Heinrich Günther died as rector of St. Christoph on December 4, 1491, after he, as his successor, Florentius Diel in the Liber Consuetudinum (in J. S. Severus, Parochias Moguntinae, Aschaffenburg 1768, p. 180) tells, he supervised the parish for over thirty years. Could he before this period of duty already have held this same position and temporarily have given it up to devote himself to the printing of the Bible? In the sources in K. G. Bockenheimer, Die Christophkirche zu Mainz, Mainz 1881, pp. 45 ff., there was named a Johann Kelle in 1445, and in May 1452, also exactly at the time of the Bible, an Adam as rector of St. Christoph.
- Page 98-1 As a result of this, the beginnings of the lines of the second columns of a page in many places are not precisely straight. The composition of the spaces between the columns of moveable justifiers Zedler (Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft IV Mainz 1905, p. 39) verified also in the Catholicon.
- Page 98-2 The spots of printer's ink on I, 4<sup>r</sup> of the Tabula Rubricarum (Erg.-Bd. I, 95) comes from the justifiers of the empty line 42.
- Page 99-1 With the exception of the second half of D<sup>a</sup> = II, 268-73 which has the narrower space. A change of type-setters must have taken place. For the rest, the observation of the individuality of the setters does not alter anything about the division of the work as traced out on the basis of the watermarks.



- Page 100=1 Thus II, 174-179 in the Göttingen copy, but not in the Berlin copy, and vice versa, 175-178 in the Berlin copy, but not in the Göttingen copy.
- Page 101-1 Compare on this point concerning the Catholicon printing Zedler, Das Mainzer Catholicon (Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft IV Mainz 1905, p. 42).
- Page 104-1 The rubric on I, 129<sup>V</sup> follows the line division of the first impression, not of the second, which occurs only for the manuscript inscription. Whether one concludes from this that the Tabula Rubricarum were produced before the supplementary printing (which was begun with I, 129 ff. see above p. 61) must remain undecided, for otherwise some error with respect to the line division must have occurred. Also, the occurrence of the paper sort a in the Tabula Rubricarum argues for its earlier printing.
- Page 105-1 The numbering of the leaves is not visible.
- Page 106-1 Probably the signaturing was made for control of completeness for sale, certainly not by the buyer. In the vellum copy of the Universitäts-Bibliothek of Leipzig, which was bound in four volumes from the beginning, the first quire of the bookbinder's volume bears the signature 14.
- Page 109-1 We dare not assume such a small edition because otherwise the saving obtained by change of body would not repay the labor and costs.
- Page 110-1 It has been remarked that the quantity of paper of sort a procured would be to cover the entire requirements of the printing of the Bible. On the whole, this could not be correct. If so, the scope of the printing had been much underestimated, or a much larger increase of the paper edition must have taken place than is apparent in the existing copies.
- Page 110-2 III, pages 124 ff. Hupp has assembled for estimation of the elapsed time, and especially the cost of the printing of the Bible, the most noteworthy source materials, which I employ with thanks, though I must draw different conclusions.
- Page 112-1 Zedler, Zbl. f. Bibliotheksw. 24, Leipzig 1907, p. 206, says 'as the subsistence of the printing staff for one was estimated at 300 gulden, so there can be under no circumstances talk of a rate in excess of this for one year.' In my opinion, there follows from the 'annual'





- Page 112-1 estimated cost exactly the opposite. Compare also  
Cont'd Hupp III, pages 131 ff.
- Page 112-2 It need not contradict this that Fust, in his statement, accounted for only the amount of 750 gulden, which he, just as with the first 800 gulden, had borrowed on interest.
- Page 1131 Die Mainzer Ablassbriefe der Jahre 1454 und 1455 (Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft XII.XIII, Mainz 1913, esp. pages 66 ff.).
- Page 114-1 Zedler (the same, pp. 107 ff.) sought to avoid this difficulty when he assumed that, at the time of the making of the U, the manufacture of the Bible still stood at the first leaves, at the transition from 40 to 42 lines, and that on account of the reduction of the body of the type, there was a lack of flawless type for the indulgences. In connection with this secondary job, the conflict between Gutenberg and Fust may have broken out, the Bible printing might have been laid aside, and next have been completed by Schoeffer after the decision of the law suit. However, this hypothesis stands in open contradiction to the sources, which assert that there was a several years long work on the common job, also the completion of the Bible printing is a complete impossibility between the law suit, or even the indulgence printing, and the Cremer dating.
- Page 114-2 The numbers according to the statement in: Fünfzehn Jahre Königliche und Staats-bibliothek, A. v. Harnack überreicht, Berlin 1921 page 34.
- Page 116-1 À la mémoire de Jean Gutenberg, Paris 1900, page 37 and Table 7 (versos of the leaves).
- Page 116-2 Zbl. f. Bibliotheksw. 24, Leipzig 1907, page 207.
- Page 117-1 III, page 131..
- Page 117-2 I can see in this no withdrawal of the contention that he had given a second 800 gulden to Gutenberg. Also, the 750 gulden are surely not the result of the settlement of accounts; this was treated as still not established in the text of the oath.
- Page 118-1 I have changed the amount in accord with Hupp's supplementary statement on page 133
- Page 118-2 Karl Schottenloher in Zbl. f. Bibliotheksw. 29, Leipzig 1912, pages 146 ff.



- Page 119-1 Archiv f. Geschichte d. deutschen Buchhandels 10, Leipzig 1886, page 30.
- Page 119-2 The entire note runs: Perfectum est hoc opus biblie decimonono mensis Septembris [1454; thus, in a nearby note] constatque Scriptura 12 flor, 16/. hl'r, illuminatura 3 flor, bapirus 6 1/2 flor., ligatura 1 flor. Summa 23 flor, 2/. The total sum is about two shillings too much for the individual postings, they were certainly used for some minor job work
- Page 119-3 Hupp III page 132 Note 1, doubts this.
- Page 121-1 In 1490 Johann Amerbach gave to the Carthusians in Basel sixty skins 'magnas pergameni pro missali conscribendo, valens 6 lbr.' (= 4 1/2 gulden). Archiv f. Geschichte d. deutschen Buchhandels 12, Leipzig, 1889, p. 62. These made up in two sheets equal 240 leaves, would suffice for the missal, 480 leaves would have been too much.
- Page 122-1 Johannes Thritemius's story, alleged to originate with Peter Schoeffer, that 4000 gulden had been spent in the Bible printing even before the third quire was finished, if there really is any truth in it, can only refer to the Bible of 1462, which was printed in a much larger edition and at least half on vellum.
- Page 123-1 Samuel Berger, La Bible au 16<sup>e</sup> siecle, Paris 1879, p. 5.
- Page 125-1 Compare Schwenke in Wiegendrucke und Handschriften, Festgabe f. Konrad Haebler, Leipzig 1919, pages 129 ff.
- Page 126-1 Friedr. Kapp, Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels 1, Leipzig, 1886, pages 69, 278, 762. - Berlin Gutenberg-festschrift von 1900, pages 64 ff.





**D**AS Helmaspergersche Notariatsinstrument vom 6. November 1455. Protokoll über die Eidesleistung des Johann Fust in seiner Klagesache gegen Johann Gutenberg.<sup>1</sup>

In gottes namen amen. Kunt sy allen den, die diess offen instrument sehent oder horent lesen, das des jars, als man zalt i nach Cristi vnfers hern geburt duzent vierhundert vnd sunffvndsunffzig jar, in der dritten indicition, uff dornstag, der do was i der feste dag des mondes zu latin genant Nouember, eronung des allerheilighen in gott vater vnd hern, vniers hern Caliti, von gotlicher i vorrichtheit des dritten habites, in dem ersten jar, zwischen eilffen vnd zwelff uweren in mittendage, zu Menez zu den barfuf- sen in dem großen refender in myn offenbar schriber vnd der gezeuhen hernach benent gegenwertigkeit persönlich ist getaunden der eriam vnd vorlichtig man Jacob Föft, burger zu Menez, vnd von wegen Johannis Föft, fines Bruders, auch do selbst gegenwertigk, hat vorgeleget, gesprochen vnd offenbart, wie zuschem dem itzgenant Johan Föft, sinem bruder, uff ein vnd Johan Gutenberg uff die ander parthy, dem itzgenanten Johann Gutenberg zu sehen vnd zu horen, solchen eydt dem genanten Johann Föft nach lude vnd inhalt des rechtspruchs zwischen beden parthyen gescheen, bescheiden vnd offgesezt, durch den selben Johan Fust, thun, ein entlicher tag uff hude zu dieser stunde in die couent stuben do selbst gesetzet, geteupet vnd benent sy. Und off daz i die bröder deß itzgenanten cloiters, noch in der couent stuben versamelt, nit bekummert nach beswert werden, ließ der genant Jacob Fust durch sin boden in der egemelten stuben erfragen, ob Johann Gutenberg oder ymant von sint wegen in dem closter in obgerurter maiss wer, daz er sich zu den sachen schicken well. Noch solcher schickung vnd fragung quamen in den gemelten referender der eriam her Henrich Gunthri, etwan pfarrer zu sant Cristoforus czu Menez, Heinrich Kesser vnd Bechtolff von Hanauwe, diner vnd knecht deß genanten Johann Gutenberg. Vnd nachdem sie durch den genanten Johann Fust gefreget vnd besprochen worden, was sie do reden vnd war vmb sie do wern, ob sie auch in den sachen machi hetten von Johan Gutenberg wegen, antworten sie gemeinlich vnd in sonderheit, sie weren becheiden von irm junchern Johann Gutenberg zu horen vnd zu sehen, was in den sachen gescheen wurd. Darnoch Johann Fust verbottet vnd bezeuget, das er dem tag gnungk thun welt, noch dem er offgenummen vnd gefaszt wer, vnd er auch sins widerdeyls Johann Gutenbergs vor zwelff uweren gelwartet het vnd noch wartet, der sich dan selbes zu den sachen nit gefuget heit, vnd beweyß sich do bereit vnd wolfertigk, dem rechtspruch vber den ersten artickel siner ansprach getheuen noch inhalt des selben gnung zu thun, den er von wort zu wort alido ließ leien mitfampf der clage vnd entwert, vnd ludet alsus:

Vnd als dan Johan Fust dem obgenanten Johan Gutenberg zu gesprochen hat zum erien, als in dem zettel irs vberkumes begriffen sy, das er Johan Gutenberg achthundert gulden an golde vngeuerlich verlegen, domit er das werck volnbringen solt, vnd ob das me oder mynner kost, ging yen nit an, vnd das Johann Gutenberg ym von den selben achthundert gulden seß gulden von vedem hundert zu solde geben soll. Nu hab er ym solch achthundert gulden uff gülte usgenummen vnd ym die geben, dar an er doch kein gnungen, sundert sich beklaget, das er der achthundert gulden noch nit habe. Also hab er ym ye wellen ein gnungen thun vnd hab ym vber die selben acht hundert gulden noch achthundert gulden me verlacht, dan er ym noch lude des obgemelten

zettels pflichtigk sy gewest, vnd also hab er von den acht-hundert gulden, die er ym vberig verlacht hat, hundertvndvierzich gulden zu solde muosen geben. Vnd wie wol sich der vorgeant Johann Gutenberg in der obgenanten zettel verschriben hain, das er im von den ersten achthundert gulden i von ydden hundert seß gulden zu solde geben soll, so hab er ym doch solchs keyns jars usgeracht, sundert er hab solches selber muosen beczalen, das sich driefft an driethalp hundert gulden zu guter rechnung. Vnd want nu Johann Gutenberg ym solchen soll, nemlich die seß gulden gelts von den ersten achthundert vnd dan auch den solt von den vberigen achthundert gulden, nye usgeracht noch beczalt hat, vnd er den tellen soll furter vnder critien vnd juden hab muosen usneimen vnd do von seßvnddryßig gulden vngeuerlich zu guter rechnung zu geluch geben, daz sich also zusammen mit dem heubpt- geld vngeuerlich driß an zweytwent vnd zwenzig gulden, vnd furder ym solchs als an sin schaden uszurichten vnd beczalen etc.

Dar uff Johan Gutenberg geantwert hat, daß ym Johann Fust acht hundert gulden verlacht solt hain, mit solchem gelde er sin ge- czeuge zurichten vnd machen solte vnd mit solchem gelt sich zu freden vnd in sinen noz verstellen mochte, vnd solche geczeuge des egenanten Johann pfant sin solten, vnd das Johannes ym jerlichen dryhundert gulden vor kotten geben vnd auch gefinde lone, hußzinße, permet, papier, dinte etc. verlegen solt. Wurden sie alsdan furter nit eins, so solte er ym sin acht hundert gulden widdergeben vnd sol- ten sine geczeuge ledig sin. Do by wol zueritien sy, das er solch werck mit sinem gelde, das er ym uff sin pfande geluhen hab, volnbringen solt, vnd hoff, das er ym nit pflichtigk sy gewest, solch acht hundert gulden uff das werck der bucher zulegen. Vnd wie wol auch in dem zettel begriffen sy, das er ym von yddem hundert seß gulden zu gülte geben soll, so hab doch Johannes Fust ym zugelagt, das er solcher veroldunge nit begere von ym zunemen. So sin ym auch solch achthundert gulden nit ale vnd alibalde noch inhalt deß zettels worden, als er das in dem ersten artickel siner ansprach gemeßdet vnd sur- gewant hab, vnd von der vberigen acht hundert gulden wezen begert er ym ein rechnung zuthun. So geteitt er auch ym keins solches noch wuchers vnd hoß, ym im rechten dar vmb nicht pflichtigk sin etc. Wie dan solch ansprach, antwort, widerred vnd nachrede mit den vnd viel andern Worten geludet hat, do sprachen wir zum rechten:

Wan Johann Gutenberg sin rechnung gethain hat von allen inneimen vnd usgeben, daß er uff daz werck zu irer beider noz usgeben hat, was er dan men gelts dor uher enpfangen vnd ingenummen hat, das soll in die achthundert gulden gerechent werdenn. i Wer es aber, das sich an rechnung ersunde, das er ym ine dan acht hundert gulden her uff geben heite, die nit in ieren gemeinen noz kummen wern, soll er ym auch widder gehen. Vnd brenge Johannes Fust by mit dem eyde oder redlicher kunschafft, das er das obgeschriben gelt uff gülte usgenummen vnd nit von sinem eigen gelde dar geluhen hat, so soll im Johann Gutenberg solch gulde auch usrichten vnd beczalen nach lude des zettels.

Do solch rechtspruch, als itzgemelt ist, in bewesen der vorgeanten hern, Heinrichs etc., Heinrichs vnd Bechtolffs, diener des genanten Johann Gutenbergk gelesen wart, der icztgenante Johann Fust mit usfingenden syngern i- plichen uff die heiligen in myner offenbar schribers hant, das alles in einem zettel noch lude des rechtspruchs, den er mir dan also ubergap, begriffen ganca war vnd gerecht wer, swure, geredt vnd gelubt, als ym gnt soll helfen vnd die heiligen vngeuerlich, vnd ludet der egenant i zedel von wort zu wort also:

<sup>1</sup> Nach Karl Schorbach, Die Urkündlichen Nachrichten über Johann Gutenberg, in der (Mainzer) Festschrift zum 500-jährigen Geburtstage von Johann Gutenberg, Mainz 1900, S. 194 ff. (- 23. Beiheft zum Zbl f Bibliotheksw., Leipzig 1900, S. 156 ff.)

1. For a translation of the Helmasperger Notarial Instrument, see Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Gutenberg Documents*, N.Y., Oxford, 1941, pp. 181-182.





Ich Johannes Fult han usgenommen sechszendehulb hundert gulden, die Johann Gutttenberg | worden vnd auch uff vnser gemein werck gangen sint, do von ich dan jerlich gult, fult vnd schaden geben han vnd | auch noch eins teils biß her schuldig bin. Do rechen ich vor ein iglich hundert gulden, die ich also usgenommen han, | wie obgeschriben stet, jerlich seß gulden: was ym dex selben usgenommen geldes worden ist, das nit uff vnser heder werck gangen ist, das lich in rechnung erkundet, do von heischen ich ym den soldt noch lude des spruchs, vnd das das . also ware ly, will ich behalten, als recht ist, noch lude deß ußspruchs uber den ersten artickel myner ansprach, so ich an den obgenanten Johan Gutttenbergen gethan han.

Ober vnd uß alle obgerurte sachen begeret der obgemeldet | Johannes Fult von mir offenhartschreiber eins oder mer offen instrument, so vill vnd dick ym deß noit wurde, vnd sint alle obgeschriben sachen gescheen in den jare, indiction, dag, stund, bablumme, cronung, monet vnd tiade obgenant in hy-

weisen der eriamen inenner Peter Grauff, Johann Kist, Johann Kumoff, Johann Yfeneck, Jacop Fult, burger zu Mencs, | Peter Gintlheim vnd Johannes Bonne, clericken Menczer stad vnd bitums, zu gezogen funderlichen gebeden vnde geheichen.

Und ich Vlrich Helmasperger, clerick Hamberger bitums, von keiserlicher gewalt offen schreiber vnd des heiligen stuls zu Mencze gelworn notarius, want ich | by allen obgemelten punten vnd artickeln, wie obgeschriben stet, mit den obgenanten gezogen gewest bin vnd sie mit han gehört, hirumb han ich diß offen instrumentum durch einen andern geschriben, gemacht, mit myner | hant vnderfchriben vnd mit mynem gewonlichen czeychen gezeichnet, geheichen dar ober vnd gebeden in geczugniße vnd warer orkunde aller | vorgeschribener ding.

Handschriftliches Notariatssignet mit der Unterschrift  
Vlricus Helmasperger Notarius.

## Appendix 2: List of de Ricci numbers.

### ANHANG 2: VERZEICHNIS DER DE RICCI-NUMMERN

| de Ricci | Schwenke | de Ricci | Schwenke      | de Ricci | Schwenke |
|----------|----------|----------|---------------|----------|----------|
| 1        | 29       | 27       | 18            | 53 [-78] | 37       |
| 2        | 30       | 28       | 17            | 54       | 65       |
| 3        | 33       | 29       | 15            | 55       | 66       |
| 4        | 32       | 30       | 10            | 56       | 67       |
| 5        | 28       | 31       | 12            | 57       | 85       |
| 6        | 31       | 32       | 19            | 58       | 63       |
| 7        | 27       | 33       | 20            | 59       | 60       |
| 8        | 35       | 34 [-48] | 38            | 60       | 64       |
| 9        | 43       | 35       | 39            | 61       | 59       |
| 10       | 36       | 36       | 40            | 62       | 57       |
| 11       | 23       | 37       | 44            | 63       | 72       |
| 12       | 24       | 38       | 42            | 64       | 55       |
| 13       | 25       | 39       | 45            | 65       | 61       |
| 14       | 26       | 40       | 41; 46        | 66       | 54       |
| 15       | 13 u. 14 | 41       | 34            | 67       | 82       |
| 16       | 3        | 42       | 49            | 68       | 62       |
| 17       | 1        | 43       | 52            | 69       | 81       |
| 18       | 5        | 44       | 48            | 70       | 80       |
| 19       | 6        | 45       | s. S. 20 Anm. | 71       | 77       |
| 20       | 4        | 46       | 47            | 72       | 69       |
| 21       | 2        | 47       | s. S. 20 Anm. | 73       | —        |
| 22       | 16       | 48 [-34] | 38            | 74       | —        |
| 23       | 7        | 49       | 50            | 75       | —        |
| 24       | 8        | 50       | 53            | 76       | —        |
| 25       | 9        | 51       | s. S. 20 Anm. | 77       | —        |
| 26       | 11       | 52       | 51            | 78 [-53] | 37       |
|          |          |          |               | 79       | —        |



## German and English page number equivalents

| German | English           | German | English     |
|--------|-------------------|--------|-------------|
| 1-2    | Half Title, verso | 26     | 69b (table) |
| 3      | 1-3               | 27     | 72a (table) |
| 4      | 4-6               | 28     | 70-73       |
| 5      | 7-9               | 29     | 73a (table) |
| 6      | 9-12              | 30     | 73-76       |
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